









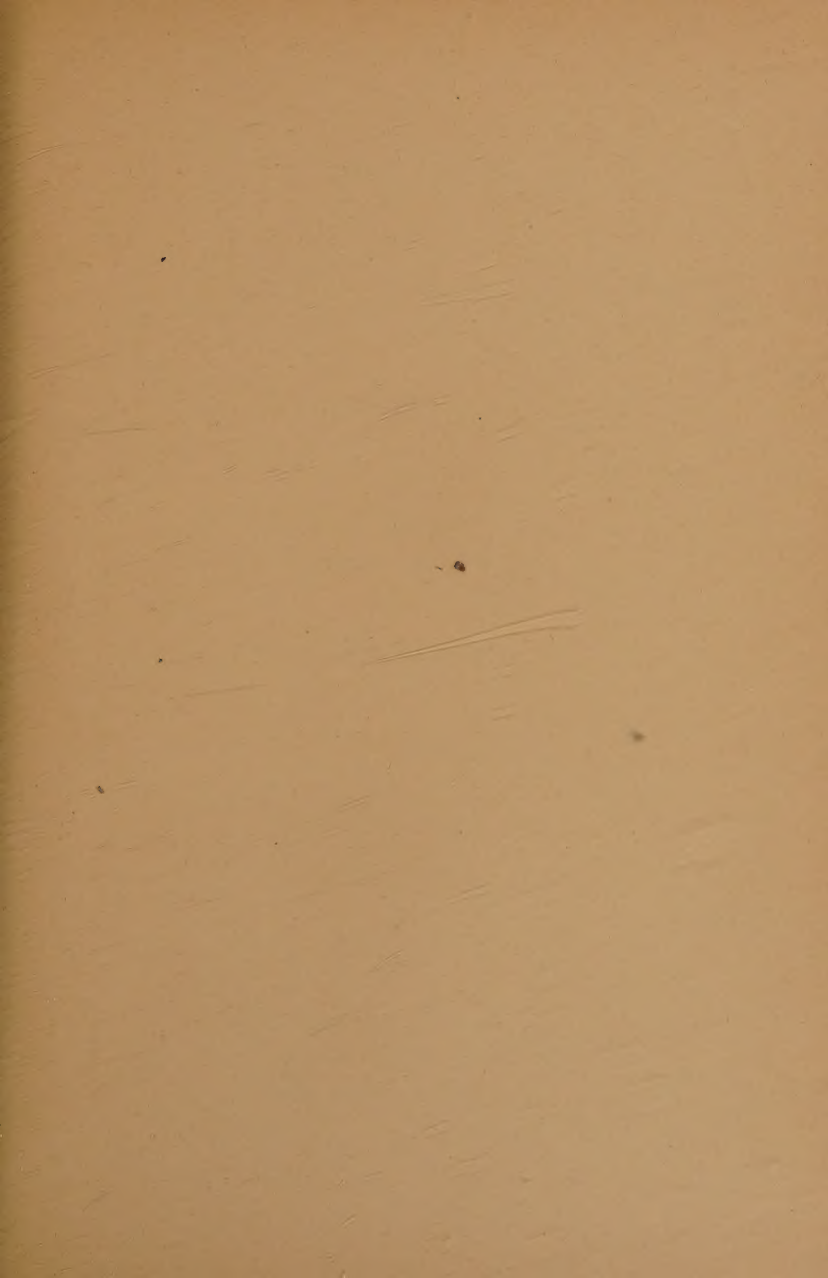




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Old-Time Classics

# PLUTARCH'S LIVES

SELECTED AND EDITED

BY

JOHN S. WHITE, LL.D.

HEAD-MASTER BERKELEY SCHOOL

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES

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## CONTENTS.

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	PAGE
LIFE OF ALCIBIADES . . . . .	I
LIFE OF CORIOLANUS . . . . .	41
COMPARISON OF ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS .	75
LIFE OF ARISTIDES . . . . .	80
LIFE OF CIMON . . . . .	104
LIFE OF POMPEY . . . . .	132
THE ENGINES OF ARCHIMEDES; FROM THE LIFE OF MARCELLUS . . . . .	191
DESCRIPTION OF CLEOPATRA; FROM THE LIFE OF ANTONY . . . . .	198
ANECDOTES FROM THE LIFE OF AGESILAUS .	204
THE BROTHERS; FROM THE LIFE OF TIMOLEON .	209
THE WOUND OF PHILOPÆMEN . . . . .	213
A ROMAN TRIUMPH; FROM THE LIFE OF PAULUS ÆMILIUS . . . . .	216
THE NOBLE CHARACTER OF CAIUS FABRICIUS; FROM THE LIFE OF PYRRHUS . . . . .	224
FROM THE LIFE OF QUINTUS FABIUS MAXIMUS .	228
THE CRUELTY OF LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA .	231
THE LUXURY OF LUCULLUS . . . . .	234
FROM THE LIFE OF SERTORIUS THE ROMAN, WHO ENDEAVORED TO ESTABLISH A SEPARATE GOV- ERNMENT FOR HIMSELF IN SPAIN . . . . .	240

	PAGE
THE SCROLL ; FROM THE LIFE OF LYSANDER . . . . .	246
THE CHARACTER OF MARCUS CATO . . . . .	248
THE SACRED THEBAN BAND ; FROM THE LIFE OF PELOPIDAS . . . . .	256
FROM THE LIFE OF TITUS FLAMININUS, CON- QUEROR OF PHILIP . . . . .	259
LIFE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT . . . . .	262
THE DEATH OF CÆSAR . . . . .	297
WEIGHTS, MEASURES, ETC., MENTIONED BY PLU- TARCH ; FROM THE TABLES OF DR. ARBUTH- NOT . . . . .	302
A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, FROM DACIER AND OTHER WRITERS . . . . .	304
INDEX FOR REFERENCE AS TO THE PRONUNCIA- TION OF PROPER NAMES . . . . .	317





## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

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	PAGE
ALCIBIADES . . . . .	3
SPHACTERIA AND PYLOS FROM NAVARINO . .	13
BATTLE OF ISSOS . . . . .	25
MOUNTS OLYMPUS AND OSSA FROM THE PLAINS OF THESSALY . . . . .	101
PLAINS OF MARATHON . . . . .	105
GROVES OF THE ACADEMY . . . . .	121
POMPEY . . . . .	135
COIFFURES OF ROMAN LADIES . . . . .	163
GREEK WARRIOR . . . . .	205
GREEK WARRIOR . . . . .	207
WINE JUGS, OR OINOCHOI . . . . .	218
MIXING BOWLS, OR KROTERES . . . . .	222
WALL DECORATIONS . . . . .	235
GATE OF LIONS AT MYCENÆ (RESTORED) . .	253
GATE OF LIONS . . . . .	257
ALEXANDER THE GREAT . . . . .	267
DEATH OF CÆSAR . . . . .	299





## PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

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### ALCIBIADES.

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ALCIBIADES, it is supposed, was descended from Ajax, by his father's side ; and by his mother's side from Alcmaëon. Dinomache, his mother, was the daughter of Megacles. His father (Clinias) having fitted out a galley at his own expense, gained great honor in the sea-fight at Artemisium, and was afterwards slain in the battle of Coronea, fighting against the Bœotians. The friendship which Socrates felt for him has much contributed to his fame ; and though we have no account from any writer concerning the mother of Nicias or Demosthenes, of Laches or Phormion, of Thrasybulus or Theramenes, notwithstanding these were all illustrious men of the same period, yet we know even the nurse of Alcibiades, that her country was Lacedæmon, and her name Amycla ; and that Zopyrus was his teacher and attendant ; the one being recorded by Antisthenes, and the other by Plato.



It is not, perhaps, material to say any thing of the beauty of Alcibiades, only that it bloomed with him in all the ages of his life, in his infancy, in his youth, and in his manhood; and, in the peculiar character becoming to each of these periods, gave him, in every one of them, a grace and a charm. What Euripides says, that

“Of all fair things the autumn, too, is fair,”

is by no means universally true. But it happened so with Alcibiades, amongst few others, by reason of his happy constitution and natural vigor of body. It is said that his lisping, when he spoke, became him well, and gave a grace and persuasiveness to his rapid speech. Aristophanes takes notice of it in the verses in which he jests at Theorus: “How like a *colax* he is,” says Alcibiades, meaning a *corax*<sup>1</sup>; on which it is remarked,

“How very happily he lisped the truth.”

His conduct displayed many inconsistencies, not unnaturally, in accordance with the many wonderful vicissitudes of his fortunes; but, among the many strong passions of his real character, the most powerful of all was his ambition for superiority, which appears in several anecdotes told of him while he was a child. Once being hard pressed in wrestling, and fearing to be thrown, he got the hand of his

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<sup>1</sup> This fashionable Attic lisp, or careless articulation, turned the sound *r* into *l*. *Colax*, a flatterer; *Corax*, a crow.

antagonist to his mouth, and bit it with all his force; and when the other loosed his hold presently,



ALCIBIADES.

and said, "You bite, Alcibiades, like a woman."  
"No," replied he, "like a lion." Another time, when playing at dice in the street, being then only a

child, a loaded cart came that way, just as it was his turn to throw; at first he called to the driver to stop, because he was about to throw in the way over which the cart would pass; but when the man paid him no attention, and was driving on, the rest of the boys divided and sprang away; but Alcibiades threw himself on his face before the cart, and, stretching himself out, bade the carter pass on now if he would. The man was so startled that he put back his horses, while all that saw it were terrified, and, crying out, ran to assist Alcibiades. When he began to study, he obeyed all his other masters fairly well, but refused to learn upon the flute, as a thing unbecoming a free citizen; saying that to play on the lute or the harp does not in any way disfigure a man's body or face, but one is hardly to be known by his most intimate friends, when playing on the flute. Besides, one who plays on the harp may speak or sing at the same time; but the use of the flute stops the mouth, intercepts the voice, and prevents all articulation. "Therefore," said he, "let the Theban youths pipe, who do not know how to speak, but we Athenians, as our ancestors have told us, have Athena for our patroness, and Apollo for our protector, one of whom threw away the flute, and the other stripped the Flute-player of his skin." Thus, between raillery and good earnest, Alcibiades kept not only himself but others from learning, as it presently became the talk of the young boys, how Alcibiades despised

playing on the flute, and ridiculed those who studied it. In consequence of which, it ceased to be reckoned amongst the liberal accomplishments, and became generally neglected.

It was manifest that the many well-born persons who were continually seeking his company, and making court to him, were attracted and captivated by his extraordinary beauty only. But the affection which Socrates entertained for him is a great evidence of the natural noble qualities and good disposition of the boy, which Socrates detected under his personal beauty; and, fearing that his wealth and station, and the great number both of strangers and Athenians who flattered and caressed him, might at last corrupt him, resolved, if possible, to interpose, and preserve so hopeful a plant from perishing in the flower, before its fruit came to perfection. For never did fortune surround a man with so many of those things which we vulgarly call goods, or so protect him from every weapon of philosophy, and fence him from every access of free and searching words, as she did Alcibiades; who, from the beginning, was exposed to the flatteries of those who sought merely his gratification, such as might well unnerve him, and indispose him to listen to any real adviser or instructor. Yet such was the happiness of his genius, that he selected Socrates from the rest, and admitted him, while he drove away the wealthy and the noble who made court to him. In

a little time they grew intimate, and Alcibiades, listening now to language entirely free from every thought of unmanly fondness and silly displays of affection, found himself with one who sought to lay open to him the deficiencies of his mind and repress his vain and foolish arrogance, and

“Dropped like the craven cock his conquered wing.”

He esteemed these endeavors of Socrates as most truly a means which the gods made use of for the care and preservation of youth, and it was a matter of general wonder, when people saw him joining Socrates in his meals and his exercises, living with him in the same tent, while he was reserved and rough to all others who made their addresses to him.

He behaved in the same manner to all others who courted him, except one stranger, who, as the story is told, having but a small estate, sold it all for about a hundred staters, which he presented to Alcibiades, and besought him to accept. Alcibiades, smiling and well pleased at the thing, invited him to supper, and, after a very kind entertainment, gave him his gold again, requiring him, moreover, not to fail to be present the next day, when the public revenue was offered to farm, and to outbid all others. The man would have excused himself, because the contract was so large, and would cost many talents; but Alcibiades, who had at that time a private pique against the existing farmers of the revenue, threat-



ened to have him beaten if he refused. The next morning, the stranger, coming to the market-place, offered a talent more than the existing rate; upon which the farmers, enraged and consulting together, called upon him to name his sureties, concluding that he could find none. The poor man, being startled at the proposal, began to retire; but Alcibiades, standing at a distance, cried out to the magistrates: "Set my name down, he is a friend of mine; I will be security for him." When the other bidders heard this, they perceived that all their contrivance was defeated; for their way was, with the profits of the second year to pay the rent for the year preceding; so that, not seeing any other way to extricate themselves out of the difficulty, they began to treat with the stranger, and offered him a sum of money. Alcibiades would not suffer him to accept of less than a talent; but when that was paid down, he commanded him to relinquish the bargain, having by this device relieved his necessity.

Though Socrates had many powerful rivals, yet the natural good qualities of Alcibiades gave his affection the mastery. His words overcame him so much, as to draw tears from his eyes, and to disturb his very soul. Yet sometimes he would abandon himself to flatterers, when they proposed to him varieties of pleasure, and would desert Socrates; who, then, would pursue him, as if he had been a fugitive slave. He despised every one else, and had no

reverence or awe for any but him. But as iron which is softened by the fire grows hard with the cold, and all its parts are closed again ; so, as often as Socrates observed Alcibiades to be misled by luxury or pride, he reduced and corrected him by his addresses, and made him humble and modest, by showing him in how many things he was deficient and how very far from perfection in virtue.

When he was past his childhood, he went once to a grammar-school and asked the master for one of Homer's books, and when he made answer that he had nothing of Homer's, Alcibiades gave him a blow with his fist, and went away. Another schoolmaster telling him that he had a copy of Homer corrected by himself ; " Why ? " said Alcibiades, " do you employ your time in teaching children to read ? You, who are able to amend Homer, may well undertake to instruct men."

When he was very young he was a soldier in the expedition against Potidæa, where Socrates lodged in the same tent with him, and stood next to him in battle. Once there happened a sharp skirmish, in which they both behaved with signal bravery, but Alcibiades receiving a wound, Socrates threw himself before him to defend him, and beyond any question saved him and his arms from the enemy, and so in all justice might have challenged the prize of valor. But the generals appearing eager to adjudge the honor to Alcibiades, because of his rank, Socrates,

who desired to increase his thirst after glory of a noble kind, was the first to give evidence for him, and pressed them to crown him, and to decree to him the complete suit of armor. Afterwards, in the battle of Delium, when the Athenians were routed and Socrates with a few others was retreating on foot, Alcibiades, who was on horseback, observed it, and would not pass on, but stayed to shelter him from the danger, and brought him safely off, though the enemy pressed hard upon them, and cut off many.

He gave a box on the ear to Hipponicus, the father of Callias, whose birth and wealth made him a person of great influence and repute. And this he did unprovoked by any passion or quarrel between them, but only because, in a frolic, he had agreed with his companions to do it. People were justly offended at this insolence, when it became known through the city; but early the next morning Alcibiades went to his house and knocked at the door, and, being admitted to him, took off his outer garment, and, presenting his naked body, desired him to scourge and chastise him as he pleased. Upon this Hipponicus forgot all his resentment, and not only pardoned him, but soon after gave him his daughter Hipparete in marriage.

Alcibiades had a dog which cost him seventy minas, and was very large and handsome. His tail, which was his principal ornament, he caused to be cut off, and an acquaintance exclaiming at him for it, and

telling him that all Athens was sorry for the dog, and cried out against him for his action, he laughed, and said: "Just what I wanted has happened, then. I wished the Athenians to talk about this, that they might not say something worse of me!"

It is said that the first time he came into the assembly was upon occasion of a largess of money which he made to the people. This was not done by design, but as he passed along he heard a shout, and inquired the cause; and having learned that there was a gift-making to the people, he went in among them and gave money also. The multitude thereupon applauding him, and shouting, he was so transported at it, that he forgot a quail which he had under his robe, and the bird, being frightened at the noise, flew off; upon which the people made louder acclamations than before, and many of them started up to pursue the bird; and Antiochus, a pilot, caught it and restored it to him, for which he was ever after a favorite with Alcibiades.

He had great advantages for entering public life; his noble birth, his riches, the personal courage he had shown in divers battles, and the multitude of his friends and dependants, threw open, so to say, folding doors for his admittance. • But he did not consent to let his power with the people rest on any thing, rather than on his own gift of eloquence. That he was a master in the art of speaking, the comic poets bear him witness; and the most elo-

quent of public speakers, in his oration against Midias, allows that Alcibiades, among other perfections, was a most accomplished orator.

His expenses in horses kept for the public games, and in the number of his chariots, were matters of great observation ; never did any one but he, either private person or king, send seven chariots to the Olympic games. And to have carried away at once the first, the second, and the fourth prize, as Thucydides says, or the third, as Euripides relates it, outdoes every distinction that was ever thought of in that kind.

The emulation displayed by the deputations of various states, in the presents which they made to him, rendered this success yet more illustrious. The Ephesians erected a tent for him, adorned magnificently ; the city of Chios furnished him with provender for his horses and with great numbers of beasts for sacrifice ; and the Lesbians sent him wine and other provisions for the many entertainments which he made.

As soon as he began to intermeddle in the government, which was when he was very young, he quickly lessened the credit of all who aspired to the confidence of the people, except Phæax and Nicias, who alone could contest with him. Nicias was arrived at a mature age, and was esteemed their first general. Phæax was but a rising statesman like Alcibiades ; he was descended from noble ancestors,



but was his inferior in many other things, but principally in eloquence.

Alcibiades was not less disturbed at the distinctions which Nicias gained among the enemies of Athens, than at the honors which the Athenians themselves paid to him. It was commonly said, in Greece, that the war in the Peloponnesus was begun by Pericles, and that Nicias made an end of it, and the peace was generally called the peace of Nicias. Alcibiades was extremely annoyed at this, and, being full of envy, set himself to break the league. First, therefore, observing that the Argives, as well out of fear as hatred to the Lacedæmonians, sought for protection against them, he gave them a secret assurance of alliance with Athens. He exclaimed fiercely against Nicias, and accused him of many things, which seemed probable enough: as that, when he was general, he made no attempt himself to capture their enemies that were shut up in the isle of Sphacteria, but, when they were afterward made prisoners by others, he procured their release and sent them back to the Lacedæmonians, only to get favor with them.

It happened, at the very time when Nicias was by these arts brought into disgrace with the people, that ambassadors arrived from Lacedæmon, who, at their first coming, said what seemed very satisfactory, declaring that they had full powers to arrange all matters in dispute upon fair and equal terms. The council



SPHACTERIA AND PYLOS FROM NAVARINO.

received their propositions, and the people were to assemble on the morrow to give them audience. Alcibiades grew very apprehensive of this, and contrived to gain a secret conference with the ambassadors. When they were met, he said: "What is it you intend, you men of Sparta? If you expect to obtain equal terms from the Athenians, and would not have things extorted from you contrary to your inclinations, begin to treat with the people upon some reasonable articles, not avowing yourselves plenipotentiaries; and I will be ready to assist you, out of good-will to the Lacedæmonians." When he had said this, he gave them his oath for the performance of what he had promised, and by this way drew them from Nicias to rely entirely upon himself, and left them full of admiration of the discernment and sagacity they had seen in him. The next day, when the people were assembled and the ambassadors introduced, Alcibiades, with great apparent courtesy, demanded of them, with what powers they had come. They made answer that they had not come as plenipotentiaries.

Instantly upon that, Alcibiades, with a loud voice, as though he had received and not done the wrong, began to call them dishonest prevaricators, and to urge that such men could not possibly come with a purpose to say or do any thing that was sincere. The council was incensed, the people were in a rage, and Nicias, who knew nothing of the deceit and the

imposture, was in the greatest confusion, equally surprised and ashamed at such a change in the men. So thus the Lacedæmonian ambassadors were utterly rejected, and Alcibiades was declared general, who presently united the Argives, the Eleans, and the people of Mantinea, into a confederacy with the Athenians.

No man commended the method by which Alcibiades effected all this, yet it was a great political feat thus to divide and shake almost all Peloponnesus, and to combine so many men in arms against the Lacedæmonians in one day before Mantinea; and, moreover, to remove the war and the danger so far from the frontier of the Athenians, that even success would profit the enemy but little, should they be conquerors, whereas, if they were defeated, Sparta itself was hardly safe.

But with all these words and deeds, and with all this sagacity and eloquence, he intermingled exorbitant luxury and wantonness in his eating and drinking and dissolute living; wore long purple robes like a woman, which dragged after him as he went through the market-place; caused the planks of his galley to be cut away, that so he might lie the softer, his bed not being placed on the boards, but hanging upon girths. His shield, again, which was richly gilded, had not the usual ensigns of the Athenians, but a Cupid, holding a thunderbolt in his hand, was painted upon it. The sight of all this

made the people of good repute in the city feel disgust and abhorrence, and apprehension also, at his free-living, and his contempt of law, as things monstrous in themselves, and indicating designs of usurpation. Aristophanes has well expressed the people's feeling towards him :

“ They love, and hate, and cannot do without him.”

And still more strongly, under a figurative expression :

“ Best rear no lion in your state, 't is true ;  
But treat him like a lion if you do.”

The truth is, his liberalities, his public shows, and other munificence to the people, which were such as nothing could exceed, the glory of his ancestors, the force of his eloquence, the grace of his person, his strength of body, joined with his great courage and knowledge in military affairs, prevailed upon the Athenians to endure patiently his excesses, to indulge him in many things, and, according to their habit, to give the softest names to his faults, attributing them to youth and good nature. As, for example, he kept Agatharcus, the painter, a prisoner till he had painted his whole house, but then dismissed him with a reward. He publicly struck Taureas, who exhibited certain shows in opposition to him, and contended with him for the prize. When Aristophon, the artist, had drawn Nemea sitting and holding Alcibiades in her arms, the multitude seemed pleased



with the piece, and thronged to see it, but elder people did not relish it, but looked on these things as enormities, and movements toward tyranny. So that it was not said amiss by Arcestratus, that Greece could not support a second Alcibiades. Once, when Alcibiades succeeded well in an oration which he made, and the whole assembly attended upon him to do him honor, Timon, the misanthrope, did not pass slightly by him, nor avoid him, as he did others, but purposely met him, and, taking him by the hand, said: "Go on boldly, my son, and increase in credit with the people, for thou wilt one day bring them calamities enough." Some that were present laughed at the saying, and some reviled Timon; but there were others upon whom it made a deep impression.

The Athenians, even in the lifetime of Pericles, had already cast a longing eye upon Sicily; but did not attempt any thing till after his death. Then, under pretence of aiding their confederates, they sent succor upon all occasions to those who were oppressed by the Syracusans, preparing the way for sending over a greater force. But Alcibiades was the person who inflamed this desire of theirs to the height, and prevailed with them no longer to proceed secretly, and little by little, in their design, but to sail out with a great fleet, and undertake at once to make themselves masters of the island. He possessed the people with great hopes, and he himself entertained yet greater; and the conquest of Sicily, which

was the utmost bound of their ambition, was but the mere outset of his expectation. Nicias endeavored to divert the people from the expedition, by representing to them that the taking of Syracuse would be a work of great difficulty; but Alcibiades dreamed of nothing less than the conquest of Carthage and Libya, and by the accession of these conceiving himself at once made master of Italy and of Peloponnesus, seemed to look upon Sicily as little more than a magazine for the war. The young men were soon elevated with these hopes, and listened gladly to those of riper years, who talked wonders of the countries they were going to; so that you might see great numbers sitting in the wrestling grounds and public places, drawing on the ground the figure of the island and the situation of Libya and Carthage.

Together with Alcibiades, Nicias, much against his will, was appointed general; and he endeavored to avoid the command, not the less on account of his colleague. But the Athenians thought the war would proceed more prosperously, if they did not send Alcibiades free from all restraint, but tempered his heat with the caution of Nicias. This they chose the rather to do, because Lamachus, the third general, though he was of mature years, yet in several battles had appeared no less hot and rash than Alcibiades himself.

When all things were fitted for the voyage, many unlucky omens appeared. The mutilation of the

images of Mercury, most of which, in one night, had their faces all disfigured, terrified many persons who were wont to despise most things of that nature. Alike enraged and terrified at the thing, looking upon it to proceed from a conspiracy of persons who designed some commotions in the state, the council, as well as the assembly of the people, which was held frequently in a few days' space, examined diligently every thing that might administer ground for suspicion. During this examination, Androcles, one of the demagogues, produced slaves and strangers before them, who accused Alcibiades and some of his friends of defacing other images in the same manner, and of having profanely acted the sacred mysteries at a drunken meeting. The people were highly exasperated and incensed against Alcibiades upon this accusation. But when they perceived that all the seamen designed for Sicily were for him, and the soldiers declared that they had undertaken this distant maritime expedition for the sake of Alcibiades, and that, if he was ill-used, they would all go home, they let him set sail at once, and decided that when the war should be at an end, he might then in person make his defence according to the laws.

Alcibiades perceived the malice of this postponement, and, appearing in the assembly, represented that it was monstrous for him to be sent with the command of so large an army, when he lay under

such accusations and calumnies. But he could not prevail with the people, who commanded him to sail immediately. So he departed, together with the other generals, having with them near 140 galleys, 5,100 men-at-arms, and about 1,300 archers, slingers, and light-armed men, and all the other provisions corresponding.

Arriving on the coast of Italy, he landed at Rhegium, and there stated his views of the manner in which they ought to conduct the war. He was opposed by Nicias; but Lamachus being of his opinion, they sailed for Sicily forthwith, and took Catana. This was all that was done while he was there, for he was soon after recalled by the Athenians to abide his trial. At first, as we before said, there were only some slight suspicions advanced against Alcibiades. But afterwards, in his absence, his enemies attacked him more violently, and confounded together the breaking the images with the profanation of the mysteries, as though both had been committed in pursuance of the same conspiracy for changing the government. The truth is, his accusers alleged nothing against him which could be positively proved. One of them, being asked how he knew the men who defaced the images, replied, that he saw them by the light of the moon, making a palpable misstatement, for it was just new moon when the act was committed. This made all men of understanding cry out upon the thing; but the people were as

eager as ever to receive further accusations. And, in conclusion, they sent the galley named the Salaminian, to recall Alcibiades. But they expressly commanded those that were sent, to use no violence, nor seize upon his person, but address themselves to him in the mildest terms, requiring him to follow them to Athens in order to abide his trial, and clear himself before the people. For they feared mutiny and sedition in the army in an enemy's country, which indeed it would have been easy for Alcibiades to effect, if he had wished it. For the soldiers were dispirited upon his departure, expecting for the future tedious delays, and that the war would be drawn out into a lazy length by Nicias, when Alcibiades, who was the spur to action, was taken away. For though Lamachus was a soldier, and a man of courage, poverty deprived him of authority and respect in the army. Alcibiades, just upon his departure, prevented Messena from falling into the hands of the Athenians. There were some in that city who were upon the point of delivering it up, but he, knowing the persons, gave information to some friends of the Syracusans, and so defeated the whole contrivance. When he arrived at Thurii, he went on shore, and, concealing himself there, escaped those who searched after him. But to one who knew him, and asked him if he durst not trust his own native country, he made answer: "In every thing else, yes; but in a matter that touches my life,



I would not even my own mother, lest she might by mistake throw in the black ball instead of the white." When, afterwards, he was told that the assembly had pronounced judgment of death against him, all he said was: "I will make them feel that I am alive."

The information against him was framed in this form :

"Thessalus lays information that Alcibiades has committed a crime against the goddesses Ceres and Proserpine, by representing the holy mysteries, and showing them to his companions in his own house."

He was condemned as contumacious upon his not appearing, his property confiscated, and it was decreed that all the priests and priestesses should solemnly curse him.

Alcibiades, lying under these heavy decrees and sentences, when he fled from Thurii, passed over into Peloponnesus, and remained some time at Argos. But being there in fear of his enemies, and seeing himself utterly hopeless of return to his native country, he sent to Sparta, desiring safe conduct, and assuring them that he would make them amends by his future services for all the mischief he had done them while he was their enemy. The Spartans giving him the security he desired, he went eagerly, was well received, and, at his very first coming, succeeded in inducing them, without any further caution or delay, to send aid to the Syracusans; and so roused and excited them, that they forthwith des-

patched Gylippus into Sicily, to crush the forces which the Athenians had in Sicily. A second point was to renew the war upon the Athenians at home. But the third thing, and the most important of all, was to make them fortify Decelea, which above every thing reduced and wasted the resources of the Athenians.

The renown which he earned by these public services was equalled by the admiration he attracted to his private life ; he captivated and won over everybody by his conformity to Spartan habits. People who saw him wearing his hair close cut, bathing in cold water, eating coarse meal, and dining on black broth, doubted, or rather could not believe, that he ever had a cook in his house, or had ever seen a perfumer, or had worn a mantle of Milesian purple. For he had, as it was observed, this peculiar talent for gaining men's affections, that he could at once comply with and really enter into their habits and ways of life, and change faster than the chameleon. One color, indeed, they say the chameleon cannot assume,—it cannot make itself appear white ; but Alcibiades, whether with good men or with bad, could adapt himself to his company, and equally wear the appearance of virtue or vice. At Sparta, he was devoted to athletic exercises, was frugal and reserved ; in Ionia, luxurious, gay, and indolent ; in Thrace, always drinking ; in Thessally, ever on horseback ; and when he lived with Tissaphernes, the

Persian satrap, he exceeded the Persians themselves in magnificence and pomp. Not that his natural disposition changed so easily, nor that his real character was so very variable, but, whenever he was sensible that by pursuing his own inclinations he might give offence to those with whom he had occasion to converse, he transformed himself into any shape, and adopted any fashion, that he observed to be most agreeable to them. So that to have seen him at Lacedæmon, a man, judging by the outward appearance, would have said: " 'T is not Achilles' son, but he himself, the very man " that Lycurgus designed to form.

After the defeat which the Athenians received in Sicily, ambassadors were despatched to Sparta at once from Chios and Lesbos and Cyzicus, to signify their purpose of revolting from the Athenians. But the Lacedæmonians, at the persuasion of Alcibiades, chose to assist Chios before all others. He himself, also, went instantly to sea, procured the immediate revolt of all Ionia, and, coöperating with the Lacedæmonian generals, did great mischief to the Athenians. But King Agis was his enemy, and impatient of his glory, as almost every enterprise and every success was ascribed to Alcibiades. Others, also, of the most powerful and ambitious amongst the Spartans, were possessed with jealousy of him, and, at last, prevailed with the magistrates in the city to send orders into Ionia that he should be

killed. Alcibiades, however, had secret intelligence of this, and, in apprehension of the result, while he communicated all affairs to the Lacedæmonians, yet took care not to put himself into their power. At last he retired to Tissaphernes, the satrap of the king of Persia, for his security, and immediately became the first and most influential person about him. For this barbarian, not being himself sin-



BATTLE OF ISSOS.

cere, but a lover of guile and wickedness, admired his address and wonderful subtlety. And, indeed, the charm of daily intercourse with him was more than any character could resist, or any disposition escape. Even those who feared and envied him could not but have a sort of kindness for him, when they saw him, and were in his company. So that Tissaphernes, otherwise a cruel character, and, above all other Persians, a hater of the Greeks, was

yet so won by the flatteries of Alcibiades, that he set himself even to exceed him in responding to them. The most beautiful of his parks, containing salubrious streams and meadows, where he had built pavilions, and places of retirement royally and exquisitely adorned, received by his direction the name of Alcibiades, and was always so called and so spoken of.

Thus Alcibiades, quitting the interests of the Spartans, whom he could no longer trust, because he stood in fear of Agis, endeavored to do them ill offices, and render them odious to Tissaphernes, who, by his means, was hindered from assisting them vigorously, and from finally ruining the Athenians. For his advice was to furnish them but sparingly with money, and so wear them out, and consume them insensibly; when they had wasted their strength upon one another, they would both become ready to submit to the king.

At that time the whole strength of the Athenians was in Samos. Their fleet maintained itself here, and issued from these head-quarters to reduce such as had revolted, and protect the rest of their territories; in one way or other still contriving to be a match for their enemies at sea. What they stood in fear of, was Tissaphernes and the Phœnician fleet of one hundred and fifty galleys, which was said to be already under sail; if those came, there remained then no hopes for the commonwealth of Athens.

Understanding this, Alcibiades sent secretly to the chief men of the Athenians, who were then at Samos, giving them hopes, that he would make Tissaphernes their friend ; he was willing, he implied, to do some favor, not to the people, nor in reliance upon them, but to the better citizens, if only, like brave men, they would make the attempt to put down the insolence of the people, and, by taking upon them the government, would endeavor to save the city from ruin. All of them gave a ready ear to the proposal made by Alcibiades, except Phrynichus of the township of Dirades, despatched Pisander to Athens to attempt a change of government, and to encourage the aristocratical citizens to take upon themselves the government and overthrow the democracy, representing to them that, upon these terms, Alcibiades would procure them the friendship and alliance of Tissaphernes.

Those who were at Samos set sail for the Piræus ; and, sending for Alcibiades, declared him general. He, however, in that juncture did not, as it might have been thought a man would, on being suddenly exalted by the favor of a multitude, think himself under an obligation to gratify and submit to all the wishes of those who, from a fugitive and an exile, had created him general of so great an army and given him the command of such a fleet. But, as became a great captain, he opposed himself to the precipitate resolutions which their rage led them to,



and, by restraining them from the great error they were about to commit, unequivocally saved the commonwealth. For if they had then sailed to Athens, all Ionia and the islands and the Hellespont would have fallen into the enemies' hands without opposition, while the Athenians, involved in civil war, would have been fighting with one another within the circuit of their own walls. It was Alcibiades alone, or, at least, principally, who prevented all this mischief; for he not only used persuasion to the whole army, and showed them the danger, but applied himself to them, one by one, entreating some and constraining others. He was much assisted, however, by Thrasybulus of Stiria, who, having the loudest voice, as we are told, of all the Athenians, went along with him and cried out to those who were ready to go. A second great service which Alcibiades did for them was his undertaking that the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians expected to be sent to them by the king of Persia, should either come in aid of the Athenians, or otherwise should not come at all. And now the people in the city not only desired but commanded Alcibiades to return home from his exile. He, however, desired not to owe his return to the mere grace and commiseration of the people, and resolved to come back, not with empty hands, but with glory and after some service done. To this end he sailed from Samos with a few ships, and cruised on the sea of Cnidos

and about the isle of Cos ; but receiving intelligence there that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral, had sailed with his whole army into the Hellespont, and that the Athenians had followed him, he hurried back to succor the Athenian commanders, and, by good fortune, arrived with eighteen galleys at a critical time. For both the fleets having engaged near Abydos, the fight between them had lasted till night, the one side having the advantage on one quarter, and the other on another. Upon his first appearance, both sides formed a false impression ; the enemy was encouraged, and the Athenians terrified. But Alcibiades suddenly raised the Athenian ensign in the admiral ship, and fell upon those galleys of the Peloponnesians which had the advantage and were in pursuit. He soon put these to flight, and followed them so close that he forced them on shore, and broke the ships in pieces, the sailors abandoning them and swimming away, in spite of all the efforts of Pharnabazus, who had come down to their assistance by land, and did what he could to protect them from the shore. In fine, the Athenians, having taken thirty of the enemy's ships, and recovered all their own, erected a trophy. After the gaining of so glorious a victory his vanity made him eager to show himself to Tissaphernes, and, having furnished himself with gifts and presents, and an equipage suitable to his dignity, he set out to visit him. But the thing did not succeed as he had imagined, for Tis-

saphernes had long been suspected by the Lacedæmonians, and was afraid to fall into disgrace with his king upon that account, therefore, thinking that Alcibiades had arrived very opportunely, he immediately caused him to be seized and sent away prisoner to Sardis ; fancying, by this act of injustice, to clear himself from all former imputations.

But about thirty days after, Alcibiades escaped from his keepers and, having got a horse, fled to Clazomenæ, where he procured Tissaphernes additional disgrace by professing that he was a party to his escape. From there he sailed to the Athenian camp, and, being informed that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together at Cyzicus, he made a speech to the soldiers, telling them that sea-fighting, land-fighting, and, by the gods, fighting against fortified cities too, must be all one for them, as, unless they conquered everywhere, there was no money for them. As soon as he got them on ship-board, he hastened to Proconnesus, and gave command to seize all the small vessels they met, and guard them safely in the interior of the fleet, that the enemy might have no notice of his coming ; and a great storm of rain, accompanied with thunder and darkness, which happened at the same time, contributed much to the concealment of his enterprise. Indeed, it was not only undiscovered by the enemy, but the Athenians themselves were ignorant of it, for he commanded them suddenly on board, and set sail when they had

abandoned all intention of it. As the darkness presently passed away, the Peloponnesian fleet were seen riding out at sea in front of the harbor of Cyzicus. Fearing, if they discovered the number of his ships, they might endeavor to save themselves by land, he commanded the rest of the captains to slacken, and follow him slowly, whilst he, advancing with forty ships, showed himself to the enemy and provoked them to fight. The enemy, being deceived as to their numbers, despised them, and, supposing they were to contend with those only, made ready and began the fight. But as soon as they were engaged, they perceived the other part of the fleet coming down upon them, at which they were so terrified that they fled immediately. Upon that, Alcibiades, breaking through the midst of them with twenty of his best ships, hastened to the shore, disembarked, and pursued those who abandoned their ships and fled to land, and made a great slaughter of them. Mindarus and Pharnabazus, coming to their succor, were utterly defeated. Mindarus was slain fighting valiantly; Pharnabazus saved himself by flight. The Athenians slew great numbers of their enemies, won much spoil, and took all their ships. They also made themselves masters of Cyzicus, which was deserted by Pharnabazus, and destroyed its Peloponnesian garrison, and thereby not only secured to themselves the Hellespont, but by force drove the Lacedæmonians out of all the rest of the

sea. They intercepted some letters written to the ephors, which gave an account of this fatal overthrow, after their short, laconic manner. "Our hopes are at an end. Mindarus is slain. The men are starving. We know not what to do."

And now Alcibiades began to desire to see his native country again, or rather to show his fellow-citizens a person who had gained so many victories for them. He set sail for Athens, the ships that accompanied him being adorned with great numbers of shields and other spoils, and towing after them many galleys taken from the enemy, and the ensigns and ornaments of many others which he had sunk and destroyed; all of them together amounting to two hundred. Little credit, perhaps, can be given to what Duris the Samian, who professed to be descended from Alcibiades, adds, that Chrysogonus, who had gained a victory at the Pythian games, played upon his flute for the galleys, whilst the oars kept time with the music; and that Callippides, the tragedian, attired in his buskins, his purple robes, and other ornaments used in the theatre, gave the word to the rowers, and that the admiral's galley entered into the port with a purple sail. It is not credible, that one who had returned from so long an exile, and such a variety of misfortunes, should come home to his countrymen in the style of revellers breaking up from a drinking-party. On the contrary, he entered the harbor full of fear, nor would

he venture to go on shore, till, standing on the deck, he saw Euryptolemus, his cousin, and others of his friends and acquaintance, who were ready to receive him, and invited him to land. As soon as he was landed, the multitude who came out to meet him scarcely appeared to see any of the other captains, but came in throngs about Alcibiades, and saluted him with loud acclamations, and followed him; those who could press near him crowned him with garlands, and they who could not come up so close yet stayed to behold him afar off, and the old men pointed him out to the young ones. Nevertheless, this public joy was mixed with some tears, and the present happiness was diminished by the remembrance of the miseries they had endured. They made reflections, that they could not have so unfortunately miscarried in Sicily, if they had left the management of their affairs and the command of their forces to Alcibiades, since, upon his undertaking the administration, when they were absolutely driven from the sea, and could scarcely defend the suburbs of their city by land, and at the same time were miserably distracted with intestine factions, he had raised them up from this low and deplorable condition, and had not only restored them to their ancient dominion of the sea, but had also made them everywhere victorious over their enemies on land.

The people being summoned to an assembly, Al-



cibiades came in among them, and first bewailed and lamented his own sufferings, and, in general terms complaining of the usage he had received, imputed all to his hard fortune, and some ill genius that attended him; then he spoke at large of their prospects, and exhorted them to courage and good hope. The people crowned him with crowns of gold, and created him general, both at land and sea, with absolute power. They also made a decree that his estate should be restored to him, and that the Eumolpidæ and the holy heralds should absolve him from the curses which they had solemnly pronounced against him by sentence of the people. All the rest obeyed, but Theodorus, the high-priest, excused himself. "For," said he, "if he is innocent, I never cursed him."

Certainly, if ever man was ruined by his own glory, it was Alcibiades. For his continual success had produced such an idea of his courage and conduct, that, if he failed in any thing he undertook, it was imputed to his neglect, and no one would believe it was through want of power. For they thought nothing was too hard for him, if he went about it in good earnest. Now, having departed with a fleet of one hundred ships for the reduction of Chios, and of the rest of Ionia, the people grew impatient that things were not effected as fast and as rapidly as they could wish for them. They never considered how extremely money was wanting, and

that, having to carry on war with an enemy who had supplies of all things from a great king, he was often forced to quit his armament in order to procure money and provisions for the subsistence of his soldiers. This very thing gave occasion for the last accusation which was made against him. For Lysander, being sent from Lacedæmon with a commission to be admiral of their fleet, and being furnished by Cyrus with a great sum of money, gave every sailor four obols a day, whereas before they had but three. Alcibiades could hardly allow his men three obols, and therefore was obliged to go into Caria to furnish himself with money. He left the care of the fleet, in his absence, to Antiochus, an experienced seaman, but rash and inconsiderate, who had express orders from Alcibiades not to engage, though the enemy provoked him. But he slighted and disregarded these directions to such a degree that, having made ready his own galley and another, he stood for Ephesus, where the enemy lay, and, as he sailed before the heads of their galleys, used every provocation possible, both in words and deeds. Lysander manned out a few ships and pursued him. But all the Athenian ships coming in to his assistance, Lysander, also, brought up his whole fleet, which gained an entire victory. He slew Antiochus himself, took many men and ships, and erected a trophy.

As soon as Alcibiades heard this news he returned to Samos, and loosing from thence with his whole

fleet, came and offered battle to Lysander. But Lysander, content with the victory he had gained, would not stir. Amongst others in the army who hated Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, the son of Thrason, was his particular enemy, and went purposely to Athens to accuse him, and to exasperate his enemies in the city against him. Addressing the people, he represented that Alcibiades had ruined their affairs, and lost their ships by mere self-conceited neglect of his duties, committing the government of the army, in his absence, to men who gained his favor by drinking and scurrilous talking, whilst he wandered up and down at pleasure to raise money, giving himself up to every sort of luxury in Abydos and Ionia, at a time when the enemy's navy were on the watch close at hand. It was also objected to him that he had fortified a castle near Bisanthe in Thrace, for a safe retreat for himself, as one that either could not, or would not, live in his own country. The Athenians gave credit to these informations, and showed the resentment and displeasure which they had conceived against him, by choosing other generals.

As soon as Alcibiades heard of this, he immediately forsook the army, afraid of what might follow; and, collecting a body of mercenary soldiers, made war upon his own account against those Thracians who called themselves free, and acknowledged no king. By this means he amassed himself considerable treasure, and, at the same time, secured the bordering Greeks from the incursions of the barbarians.

Tydeus, Menander, and Adimantus, the newly made generals, were at that time posted at Ægospotami, with all the ships which the Athenians had left. Whence they used to go out every morning, offer battle to Lysander, who lay near Lampsacus, and, returning back again, lie all the rest of the day, carelessly and without order, in contempt of the enemy. Alcibiades, who was not far off, did not think so lightly of their danger, nor neglect to let them know it, but, mounting his horse, came to the generals, and represented to them that they had chosen a very inconvenient station, where there was no safe harbor, and where they were distant from any town; so that they were constrained to send for their necessary provisions as far as Sestos. He also pointed out to them their carelessness in suffering the soldiers, when they went ashore, to disperse and wander up and down at their pleasure, while the enemy's fleet, under the command of one general, and strictly obedient to discipline, lay so very near them. He advised them to remove the fleet to Sestos. But the admirals not only disregarded what he said, but Tydeus, with insulting expressions, commanded him to be gone, saying, that now not he, but others, had the command of the forces. The event, soon made it evident how rightly he had judged of the errors which the Athenians were committing. For Lysander fell upon them on a sudden, when they least suspected it, with such fury that Conon

alone, with eight galleys, escaped him ; all the rest, about two hundred, he took and carried away, together with three thousand prisoners, whom he put to death. And within a short time after, he took Athens itself, burnt all the ships which he found there, demolished their long walls, and established the rule of the Thirty Tyrants.

After this, Alcibiades, standing in dread of the Lacedæmonians, who were now masters both at sea and land, retired into Bithynia. He sent there great treasure before him, took much with him, but left much more in the castle where he had before resided. But he lost a great part of his wealth in Bithynia, being robbed by some Thracians who lived in those parts, and thereupon determined to go to the court of Artaxerxes, not doubting but that the king, if he would make trial of his abilities, would find him not inferior to Themistocles, besides being recommended by a more honorable cause. For he went, not as Themistocles did, to offer his service against his fellow-citizens, but against their enemies, and to implore the king's aid for the defence of his country. The Athenians, in the meantime, miserably afflicted at their loss of empire and liberty, acknowledged and bewailed their former errors and follies, and judged this second ill-usage of Alcibiades to be of all the most inexcusable. For he was rejected, without any fault committed by himself ; and only because they were incensed against his subordinate for having

shamefully lost a few ships, they much more shamefully deprived the commonwealth of its most valiant and accomplished general.

Critias finally represented to Lysander, that the Lacedæmonians could never securely enjoy the dominion of Greece till the Athenian democracy was absolutely destroyed; and though now the people of Athens seemed quietly and patiently to submit to so small a number of governors, yet so long as Alcibiades lived, the knowledge of this fact would never suffer them to acquiesce in their present circumstances.

Yet Lysander could not be prevailed upon by these representations, till at last he received secret orders from the magistrates of Lacedæmon, expressly requiring him to get Alcibiades despatched: whether it was that they feared his energy and boldness in undertaking what was hazardous, or that it was done to gratify king Agis. Upon receipt of this order, Lysander sent a messenger away to Pharnabazus, desiring him to put it in execution. Alcibiades resided at that time in a small village in Phrygia. Those who were sent to assassinate him had not courage enough to enter the house, but surrounded it first, and set it on fire. Alcibiades, as soon as he perceived it, wrapped his cloak about his left arm, and holding his naked sword in his right, cast himself into the middle of the fire, and escaped securely through it before his clothes were burnt. The



barbarians, as soon as they saw him, retreated, and none of them durst engage with him, but, standing at a distance, they slew him with their darts and arrows.





## CORIOLANUS.

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THE patrician house of the Marcii in Rome produced many men of distinction, and among the rest, Ancus Marcius, grandson to Numa by his daughter, and king after Tullus Hostilius. Of the same family were also Publius and Quintus Marcius, which two conveyed into the city the best and most abundant supply of water they have at Rome. But Caius Marcius, of whom I now write, being left an orphan, and brought up under the widowhood of his mother, has shown us by experience, that, although the early loss of a father may be attended with other disadvantages, yet it can hinder none from being either virtuous or eminent in the world, and that it is no obstacle to true goodness and excellence. Those who saw with admiration how proof his nature was against pleasure, hardships, and the allurements of gain, while allowing to that universal firmness of his the respective names of temperance, fortitude, and justice, yet, in the life of the citizen and the statesman, could not but be offended at the severity and ruggedness of his deportment, and with his overbearing, haughty, and imperious temper.

Those were times at Rome in which that kind of worth was most esteemed which displayed itself in military achievements; one evidence of which we find in the Latin word for virtue, which is properly equivalent to manly courage. But Marcius, having a more passionate inclination than any of that age for feats of war, began from his very childhood to handle arms; and feeling that adventitious implements and artificial arms would be of small use to such as have not their natural weapons well prepared for service, he so exercised and inured his body to all sorts of activity and encounter, that, besides the lightness of a racer, he had a weight in close seizures and wrestlings with an enemy, from which it was hard for anybody to disengage himself; so that his competitors at home in displays of bravery, loath to own themselves inferior in that respect, were wont to ascribe their deficiencies to his strength of body, which they said no resistance and no fatigue could exhaust.

The first time he went out to the wars, being yet a stripling, was when Tarquinius Superbus, who had been king of Rome and was afterward expelled, after many unsuccessful attempts now entered upon his last effort, and proceeded to hazard all as it were upon a single throw. A great number of the Latins and other people of Italy joined their forces, and were marching with him toward the city, to procure his restoration; not, however, so much out of a de-

sire to serve and oblige Tarquin, as to gratify their own fear and envy at the increase of the Roman greatness, which they were anxious to check. The armies met and engaged in a decisive battle, in the vicissitudes of which, Marcius, while fighting bravely in the dictator's presence, saw a Roman soldier struck down at a little distance, and immediately stepped in before him and slew his assailant. The general, after having gained the victory, crowned him for this act with a garland of oak branches—it being the Roman custom thus to adorn those who had saved the life of a citizen; whether the law intended some special honor to the oak, in memory of the Arcadians, a people the oracle had made famous by the name of acorn-eaters; or, the oak wreath, being sacred to Jupiter, the guardian of the city, might, therefore, be thought a proper ornament for one who preserved a citizen. And the oak, in truth, is the tree which bears the most and the prettiest fruit of any that grow wild, and is the strongest of all that are under cultivation; its acorns were the principal diet of the first mortals, and the honey found in it gave them drink. In this battle it is stated that Castor and Pollux appeared, and, immediately after the battle, were seen at Rome just by the fountain where their temple now stands, with their horses foaming with sweat, and told the news of the victory to the people in the forum. The fifteenth of July, being the day of this conquest,

became consequently a solemn holiday sacred to the Twin Brothers.

It may be observed, in general, that when young men arrive early at fame and repute, if they are of a nature but slightly touched with emulation, this early attainment is apt to extinguish their thirst and satiate their small appetite; whereas the first distinctions of more solid and weighty characters only stimulate and quicken them, and take them away, like a wind, in the pursuit of honor; they look upon these marks and testimonies to their virtue not as a recompense received for what they have already done, but as a pledge given by themselves of what they will perform hereafter, ashamed now to forsake or underlive the credit they have won, or, rather, not to exceed and obscure all that is gone before by the lustre of their following actions. Marcius, having a spirit of this noble make, was ambitious always to surpass himself, and did nothing, how extraordinary soever, but he thought he was bound to outdo it at the next occasion; and ever desiring to give continual fresh instances of his prowess, he added one exploit to another, and heaped up trophies upon trophies, so as to make it a matter of contest also among his commanders, the latter still vying with the earlier, which should pay him the greatest honor and speak highest in his commendation. Of all the numerous wars and conflicts in those days, there was not one from which he re-

turned without laurels and rewards. And, whereas others made glory the end of their daring, the end of his glory was his mother's gladness; the delight she took to hear him praised and to see him crowned, and her weeping for joy in his embraces, rendered him, in his own thoughts, the most honored and most happy person in the world. Epaminondas is similarly said to have acknowledged his feeling, that it was the greatest felicity of his whole life that his father and mother survived to hear of his successful generalship and his victory at Leuctra. And he had the advantage, indeed, to have both his parents partake with him and enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune. But Marcius, believing himself bound to pay his mother Volumnia all that gratitude and duty which would have belonged to his father had he also been alive, could never satiate himself in his tenderness and respect to her. He took a wife, also, at her request and wish, and continued, even after he had children, to live with his mother, without parting families.

The repute of his integrity and courage had, by this time, gained him considerable influence and authority in Rome, when the senate, favoring the wealthier citizens, began to be at variance with the common people, who made sad complaints of the rigorous and inhuman usage they received from the money-lenders.

There had been frequent assemblies of the whole



senate within a small compass of time about this difficulty, but without any definite result ; the poor commonalty, therefore, perceiving there was likely to be no redress of their grievances, collected in a body, and, encouraging each other in their resolution, forsook the city with one accord, and seizing the hill which is now called the Holy Mount, sat down by the river Anio, without committing any sort of violence or seditious outrage, but merely exclaiming, as they went along, that they had this long time past been expelled from the city by the cruelty of the rich ; that Italy would everywhere afford them the benefit of air and water and a place of burial, which was all they could expect in the city, unless it were perhaps the privilege of being wounded and killed in time of war for the defence of their creditors. The senate, apprehending the consequences, sent the most moderate and popular men of their own order to treat with them.

Menenius Agrippa, their chief spokesman, after much entreaty to the people, concluded, at length, with this celebrated fable : “ It once happened that all the other members of a man mutinied against the stomach, which they accused as the only idle, uncontributing part in the whole body, while the rest were put to hardships and the expense of much labor to minister to its appetites. The stomach, however, merely ridiculed the silliness of the members, who appeared not to be aware that the stomach certainly

does receive the general nourishment, but only to return it again, and redistribute it amongst the rest. Such is the case," he said, "citizens, between you and the senate. The counsels and plans that are there duly digested secure to all of you your proper benefit and support."

A reconciliation ensued, the senate acceding to the request of the people for the annual election of five protectors for those in need of succor, the same that are now called the tribunes of the people; and the first two they pitched upon were Junius Brutus and Sicinnius Vellutus, their leaders in the secession.

The city being thus united, the commons stood presently to their arms, and followed their commanders.

The Romans were now at war with the Volscian nation, whose principal city was Corioli; when, therefore, Cominius the consul had invested this important place, the rest of the Volscians, fearing it would be taken, mustered up whatever force they could from all parts to relieve it, designing to give the Romans battle before the city, and so attack them on both sides. Cominius, to avoid this inconvenience, divided his army, marching himself with one body to encounter the Volscians on their approach from without, and leaving Titus Lartius, one of the bravest Romans of his time, to command the other and continue the siege. Those within Corioli, despising now the smallness of their number, made a

sally upon them, and prevailed at first, and pursued the Romans into their trenches. Here it was that Marcius, flying out with a slender company, and cutting those in pieces that first engaged him, obliged the other assailants to slacken their speed; and then, with loud cries, called upon the Romans to renew the battle. For he had, what Cato thought a great point in a soldier, not only strength of hand and stroke, but also a voice and look that of themselves were a terror to an enemy. Some of his own party now rallying and making up to him, the enemies soon retreated; but Marcius, not content to see them draw off and retire, pressed hard upon the rear, and drove them, as they fled away in haste, to the very gates of their city; where, perceiving the Romans to fall back from their pursuit, beaten off by the multitude of darts poured in upon them from the walls, and that none of his followers had the hardiness to think of falling in pell-mell among the fugitives and so entering a city full of enemies in arms, he, nevertheless, stood and urged them to the attempt, crying out that fortune had now opened Corioli, not so much to shelter the vanquished, as to receive the conquerors. Seconded by a few that were willing to venture with him, he bore along through the crowd, made good his passage, and thrust himself into the gate through the midst of them, nobody at first daring to resist him. But when the citizens, on looking about, saw that a very

small number had entered, they now took courage, and came up and attacked them. A combat ensued of the most extraordinary description, in which Marcius, by strength of hand, swiftness of foot, and daring of soul, overpowered every one that he assailed, succeeded in driving the enemy to seek refuge, for the most part, in the interior of the town, while the remainder submitted, and threw down their arms; thus affording Lartius abundant opportunity to bring in the rest of the Romans with ease and safety.

Corioli being thus surprised and taken, the greater part of the soldiers employed themselves in spoiling and pillaging it, while Marcius indignantly reproached them, and exclaimed that it was a dishonorable and unworthy thing, when the consul and their fellow-citizens had now perhaps encountered the other Volscians, and were hazarding their lives in battle, basely to mis-spend the time in running up and down for booty, and, under a pretence of enriching themselves, keep out of danger. Few paid him any attention, but, putting himself at the head of these, he took the road by which the consul's army had marched before him, encouraging his companions, and beseeching them, as they went along, not to give up, and praying often to the gods, too, that he might be so happy as to arrive before the fight was over, and come seasonably up to assist Cominius, and partake in the peril of the action.

It was customary with the Romans of that age, when they were moving into battle array, and were on the point of taking up their bucklers, and girding their coats about them, to make at the same time an unwritten will, or verbal testament, and to name who should be their heirs, in the hearing of three or four witnesses. In this precise posture Marcius found them at his arrival, the enemy having advanced within view.

They were not a little disturbed by his first appearance, seeing him covered with blood and sweat, and attended with a small train ; but when he hastily made up to the consul with gladness in his looks, giving him his hand, and recounting to him how the city had been taken, and when they saw Cominius also embrace and salute him, every one took fresh heart ; those that were near enough hearing, and those that were at a distance guessing, what had happened ; and all cried out to be led to battle. First, however, Marcius desired to know of him how the Volscians had arrayed their army, and where they had placed their best men, and on his answering that he took the troops of the Antiates in the centre to be their prime warriors, that would yield to none in bravery, " Let me then demand and obtain of you," said Marcius, " that we may be posted against them." The consul granted the request, with much admiration of his gallantry. And when the conflict began by the soldiers darting at each

other, and Marcius sallied out before the rest, the Volscians opposed to him were not able to make head against him ; wherever he fell in, he broke their ranks, and made a lane through them ; but the parties turning again, and enclosing him on each side with their weapons, the consul, who observed the danger he was in, despatched some of the choicest men he had for his rescue. The conflict then growing warm and sharp about Marcius, and many falling dead in a little space, the Romans bore so hard upon the enemies, and pressed them with such violence, that they forced them at length to abandon their ground, and to quit the field. And, going now to prosecute the victory, they besought Marcius, tired out with his toils, and faint and heavy through the loss of blood, that he would retire to the camp. He replied, however, that weariness was not for conquerors, and joined with them in the pursuit. The rest of the Volscian army was in like manner defeated, great numbers killed, and no less taken captive.

The day after, when Marcius, with the rest of the army, presented themselves at the consul's tent, Cominius rose, and having rendered all due acknowledgment to the gods for the success of that enterprise, turned next to Marcius, and first of all delivered the strongest encomium upon his rare exploits, of which he had partly been an eye-witness himself, in the late battle, and had partly learned from the



testimony of Lartius. And then he required him to choose a tenth part of all the treasure and horses and captives that had fallen into their hands, before any division should be made to others; besides which, he made him the special present of a horse with trappings and ornaments, in honor of his actions. The whole army applauded; Marcius, however, stepped forth, and declaring his thankful acceptance of the horse, and his gratification at the praises of his general, said, that all other things, which he could only regard rather as mercenary advantages than any significations of honor, he must waive, and should be content with the ordinary proportion of such rewards. "I have only," said he "one special grace to beg, and this I hope you will not deny me. There was a certain hospitable friend of mine among the Volscians, a man of probity and virtue, who is become a prisoner, and from former wealth and freedom is now reduced to servitude. Among his many misfortunes let my intercession redeem him from the one of being sold as a common slave." Such a refusal and such a request on the part of Marcius were followed with yet louder acclamations; and he had many more admirers of this generous superiority to avarice, than of the bravery he had shown in battle. The very persons who conceived some envy and despite to see him so specially honored, could not but acknowledge, that one who so nobly could refuse reward, was beyond others worthy to receive it; and were more

charmed with that virtue which made him despise advantage, than with any of those former actions that had gained him his title to it. It is a higher accomplishment to use money well than to use arms ; but not to need it is more noble than to use it.

When the noise of approbation and applause ceased, Cominius, resuming, said : " It is idle, fellow-soldiers, to force those other gifts of ours on one who is unwilling to accept them ; let us, therefore, give him one of such a kind that he cannot well reject it ; let us pass a vote, I mean, that he shall hereafter be called Coriolanus, unless you think that his performance at Corioli has itself anticipated any such resolution." Hence, therefore, he had his third name of Coriolanus, making it all the plainer that Gaius was a personal proper name, and the second, or surname, Marcius, one common to his house and family ; the third being a subsequent addition which used to be imposed either from some particular act or fortune, bodily characteristic, or good quality of the bearer.

Not long after Marcius stood for the consulship. It was usual for candidates for office to solicit personally the citizens, presenting themselves in the forum with the toga on alone, and no tunic under it ; either to promote their supplications by the humility of their dress, or that such as had received wounds might more readily display those marks of their fortitude.

Marcus, therefore, as the fashion of candidates was, showing the scars and gashes that were still visible on his body, from the many conflicts in which he had signalized himself during a service of seventeen years together, the people were affected at this display of merit, and told one another that they ought in common modesty to create him consul. But when the day of election had come, and Marcus appeared in the forum, with a pompous train of senators attending him, and the patricians all seemed to be exerting greater efforts than they had ever done before on a similar occasion, the commons then fell off again from the kindness they had conceived for him, and in the place of their late benevolence, began to feel something of indignation and envy ; passions assisted by the fear they entertained, that if a man of such aristocratic temper, and so influential among the patricians, should be invested with the power which that office would give him, he might employ it to deprive the people of all that liberty which was yet left them. In conclusion, they rejected Marcus. Two other names were announced, to the great mortification of the senators, who felt as if the indignity reflected rather upon themselves than on Marcus. He, for his part, could not bear the affront with any patience. He had always indulged his temper, and had regarded the proud and contentious element of human nature as a sort of nobleness and magnanimity ; reason and discipline had not im-

bued him with that solidity and equanimity which enters so largely into the virtues of the statesman. He had never learned how essential it is for any one who undertakes public business, and desires to deal with mankind, to avoid above all things that self-will, which, as Plato says, belongs to the family of solitude; and to pursue, above all things, that capacity so generally ridiculed, of submission to ill-treatment. Marcius, straightforward and direct, and possessed with the idea that to vanquish and overbear all opposition is the true part of bravery, and never imagining that it was the weakness and womanishness of his nature that broke out, so to say, in these ulcerations of anger, retired, full of fury and bitterness against the people.

In the midst of these distempers, a large quantity of corn reached Rome, a great part bought up in Italy, but an equal amount sent as a present from Syracuse, from Gelo, then reigning there. Many began now to hope well of their affairs, supposing the city, by this means, would be delivered at once, both of its want and discord. A council, therefore, being presently held, the people came flocking about the senate-house, eagerly awaiting the issue of that deliberation, expecting that the market-prices would now be less cruel, and that what had come as a gift would be distributed as such. There were some within who so advised the senate; but Marcius, standing up, sharply inveighed against those who

spoke in favor of the multitude, calling them flatterers of the rabble, traitors to the nobility, and alleging that, by such gratifications, they did but cherish those bad seeds of boldness and petulance that had been sown among the people, to their own prejudice. "When things are come to such a pass, for us to sit here and decree largesses and bounties for them, like those Greeks where the populace is supreme, what else would it be," said he, "but to take their disobedience into pay, and maintain it for the common ruin of us all?"

Marcus, with much more to this purpose, succeeded, to an extraordinary degree, in inspiring the younger men with the same furious sentiments, and had almost all the wealthy on his side, who cried him up as the only person their city had, superior alike to force and flattery; some of the older men, however, opposed him, suspecting the consequences. And, indeed, there came no good of it; for the tribunes, who were present, perceiving how the proposal of Marcus took, ran out into the crowd with exclamations, calling on the plebeians to stand together and come in to their assistance. The assembly met, and soon became tumultuous. The sum of what Marcus had spoken, having been reported to the people, excited them to such fury, that they were ready to break in upon the senate. The tribunes prevented this, by laying all the blame on Coriolanus, and they accordingly cited him to come before them and defend himself.

He came, therefore, as it were, to make his apology, and clear himself; in which belief the people kept silence, and gave him a quiet hearing. But when, instead of the submissive and deprecatory language expected from him, he began to use not only an offensive kind of freedom, seeming rather to accuse than apologize, but, as well by the tone of his voice as the expression of his countenance, displayed a security that was not far from disdain and contempt of them, the whole multitude then became angry, and gave evident signs of impatience and disgust; and Sicinnius, the most violent of the tribunes, after a little private conference with his colleagues, proceeded solemnly to pronounce before them all, that Marcius was condemned to die by the tribunes of the people, and bid the *Ædiles* take him to the Tarpeian rock, and without delay throw him headlong from the precipice. When they, however, in compliance with the order, came to seize upon his body, many, even of the plebeian party, felt it to be a horrible and extravagant act; the patricians, meantime, wholly beside themselves with distress and horror, hurried with cries to the rescue, and persuaded them not to despatch him by any sudden violence, but refer the cause to the general suffrage of the people. But when the people met together, the tribunes, contrary to all former practice, extorted first, that votes should be taken, not by centuries, but tribes; a change, by which the rabble, that had



no respect for honesty and justice, would be sure to carry it against those who were rich and well-known, and accustomed to serve the state in war. In the next place, whereas they had engaged to prosecute Marcius upon no other head but that of tyranny, which could never be made out against him, they relinquished this plea, and urged instead, his language in the senate against an abatement of the price of corn, and for the overthrow of the tribunician power; adding further, as a new impeachment, the distribution that was made by him of the spoil and booty he had taken from the Antiates, when he overran their country, which he had divided among those that had followed him, whereas it ought rather to have been brought into the public treasury; which last accusation, did, they say, more discompose Marcius than all the rest, as he had not anticipated he should ever be questioned on that subject, and, therefore, was less provided with any satisfactory answer to it on the sudden. And when, by way of excuse, he began to magnify the merits of those who had been partakers with him in the action, those that had stayed at home, being more numerous than the other, interrupted him with outcries. In conclusion, when they came to vote, a majority of three tribes condemned him; the penalty being perpetual banishment.

Marcius himself, was neither stunned nor humiliated. In mien, carriage, and countenance he bore the appearance of entire composure, and while all

his friends were full of distress, seemed the only man that was not touched with his misfortune. On his return home, after saluting his mother and his wife, who were in tears and full of loud lamentations, and exhorting them to moderate the sense they had of his calamity, he proceeded at once to the city gates, whither all the nobility came to attend him; and not taking any thing with him, or making any request to the company, he departed from them, having only three or four clients with him. He continued solitary for a few days in a place in the country, distracted with a variety of counsels, such as rage and indignation suggested to him; and proposing to himself no honorable or useful end, but only how he might best satisfy his revenge on the Romans, he resolved at length to arouse a heavy war against them from their nearest neighbors. He determined, first to make trial of the Volscians, whom he knew to be still vigorous and flourishing, both in men and treasure, and he imagined their force and power was not so much abated, as their spite and anger increased, by the late overthrows they had received from the Romans.

There was a man of Antium, called Tullus Aufidius, who, for his wealth and bravery and the splendor of his family, had the respect and privilege of a king among the Volscians, but whom Marcius knew to have a particular hostility to himself, above all other Romans. Frequent menaces and challenges

had passed in battle between them, and those exchanges of defiance to which their hot and eager emulation is apt to prompt young soldiers had added private animosity to their national feelings of opposition. Yet for all this, considering Tullus to have a certain generosity of temper, and knowing that no Volscian, so much as he, desired an occasion to requite upon the Romans the evils they had done, he put on a dress which completely disguised him and thus, like Ulysses,—

He entered the town of his mortal foes.

His arrival at Antium was about evening, and though several met him in the streets, yet he passed along without recognition, and went directly to the house of Tullus, and entering undiscovered, went up to the fire-hearth, and seated himself there without speaking a word, covering up his head. Those of the family could not but wonder, and yet they were afraid either to raise or question him, for there was a certain air of majesty both in his posture and silence, but they recounted to Tullus, then at supper, the strangeness of this accident. He immediately rose from the table and came in, and asked him who he was, and for what business he came there; and then Marcius, unmuffling himself, and pausing awhile, said: "If you cannot yet call me to mind, Tullus, or do not believe your eyes concerning me, I must of necessity be my own accuser. I am Gaius

Marcus, the author of so much mischief to the Volscians; of which, were I seeking to deny it, the surname of Coriolanus I now bear would be a sufficient evidence against me. The one recompense I received for all the hardships and perils I have gone through, was the title that proclaims my enmity to your nation, and this is the only thing which is still left me. Of all other advantages I have been stripped and deprived by the envy of the Roman people, and the cowardice and treachery of the magistrates and those of my own order. I am driven out as an exile, and become an humble suppliant at your hearth, not so much for safety and protection (should I have come hither had I been afraid to die?), as to seek vengeance against those that expelled me; which, methinks, I have already obtained, by putting myself into your hands. If, therefore, you have really a mind to attack your enemies, make use of that affliction you see me in to assist the enterprise, and convert my personal infelicity into a common blessing to the Volscians; as I am likely to be more serviceable in fighting for than against you, with the advantage which I now possess of knowing all the secrets of the enemy that I am attacking."

Tullus, on hearing this, was extremely rejoiced, and, giving him his right hand, exclaimed: "Rise, Marcus, and be of good courage; it is a great happiness you bring to Antium, in the present you make

us of yourself ; expect every thing that is good from the Volscians." He then proceeded to feast and entertain him with every display of kindness, and for several days after they were in close deliberation together on the prospects of a war.

Although the Volscians had sworn to a truce of arms for the space of two years, the Romans themselves soon furnished them with a pretence, by making proclamation, out of some jealousy or slanderous report, at an exhibition of games, that all the Volscians who had come to see them should depart from the city before sunset. Some affirm that this was a contrivance of Marcius, who sent a man privately to the consuls, falsely to accuse the Volscians of intending to fall upon the Romans during the games, and to set the city on fire. This public affront aroused their hostility to the Romans ; and Tullus, perceiving it, took advantage of it, aggravating the fact, and working on their indignation, till he persuaded them, at last, to despatch ambassadors to Rome, requiring the Romans to restore that part of their country and those towns which they had taken from the Volscians in the late war. When the Romans heard the message, they indignantly replied that the Volscians were the first that took up arms, but the Romans would be the last to lay them down. This answer being brought back, Tullus called a general assembly of the Volscians ; and the vote passing for a war, he then proposed that they should

call in Marcius, laying aside the remembrance of former grudges, and assuring themselves that the services they should now receive from him as a friend and an associate would abundantly outweigh any harm or damage he had done them when he was their enemy. Marcius was accordingly summoned, and having made his entrance, and spoken to the people, won their good opinion of his capacity, his skill, counsel, and boldness, not less by his present words than by his past actions. They joined him in commission with Tullus, to have full power as general of their forces in all that related to the war. And he, fearing lest the time that would be requisite to bring all the Volscians together in full preparation might be so long as to lose him the opportunity of action, left order with the chief persons and magistrates of the city to provide other things, while he himself, prevailing upon the readiest to assemble and march out with him as volunteers without staying to be enrolled, made a sudden inroad into the Roman confines, when nobody expected him, and possessed himself of so much booty, that the Volscians found they had more than they could either carry away or use in the camp. The abundance of provision which he gained, and the waste and havoc of the country which he made, were, however, the smallest results of that invasion; the great mischief he intended, and his special object in all, was to increase at Rome the suspicions entertained of



the patricians, and to make them upon worse terms with the people. With this view, while despoiling all the fields and destroying the property of other men, he took special care to preserve their farms and lands untouched, and would not allow his soldiers to ravage there, or seize upon any thing which belonged to them. Hence the quarrels broke out afresh, and rose to a greater height than ever; the senators reproaching those of the commonalty with their late injustice to Marcius; while the plebeians, on their side, did not hesitate to accuse them of having, out of revenge, solicited him to this enterprise, and thus, when others were involved in the miseries of a war by their means, they sat like unconcerned spectators furnished with a guardian abroad of their fortunes, in the very person of the public enemy. After this incursion and exploit, which was of great advantage to the Volscians, since they learned by it to be more courageous and to despise their enemy, Marcius drew them off, and returned in safety.

But when the whole strength of the Volscians was brought together into the field, with great expedition, it appeared so considerable a body that they agreed to leave part in garrison for the security of their towns, and with the other part to march against the Romans. Marcius now desired Tullus to choose which of the two charges would be most agreeable to him. Tullus answered that since he knew Marcius to be equally valiant with himself,

and far more fortunate, he would have him take the command of those that were going out to the war, while he made it his care to defend their cities at home, and provide all conveniences for the army abroad. Marcius, thus reinforced, and much stronger than before, moved first toward the city called *Circæum*, a Roman colony. He received its surrender, and did the inhabitants no injury; passing thence, he entered and laid waste the country of the Latins, where he expected the Romans would meet him, as the Latins were their confederates and allies, and had often sent to demand succor from them. The people, however, on their part, showing little inclination for the service, and the consuls themselves being unwilling to run the hazard of a battle, when the time of their office was almost ready to expire, they dismissed the Latin ambassadors without any effect; so that Marcius, finding no army to oppose him, marched up to their cities, and, having taken by force *Toleria*, *Lavici*, *Peda*, and *Bola*, all of which offered resistance, not only plundered their houses, but made a prey likewise of their persons. Meantime, he showed particular regard for all such as came over to his party, and, for fear they might sustain any damage against his will, encamped at the greatest distance he could, and wholly abstained from their property.

After, however, he had made himself master of *Bola*, a town not above ten miles from Rome, where

he found great treasure, and put almost all the adults to the sword; the other Volscians that were ordered to stay behind and protect their cities, hearing of his achievements and success, had not patience to remain any longer at home, but came hastening in their arms to Marcius, saying that he alone was their general and the sole commander they would own; with all this, his name and renown spread throughout all Italy, and universal wonder prevailed at the sudden and mighty revolution in the fortunes of two nations which the loss and the accession of a single man had effected.

All at Rome was in great disorder; they were utterly averse from fighting, and spent their whole time in cabals and disputes and reproaches against each other; until news was brought that the enemy had laid close siege to Lavinium, where were the images and sacred things of their tutelar gods, and whence they derived the origin of their nation, that being the first city which Æneas built in Italy. These tidings produced a change as universal as it was extraordinary in the thoughts and inclinations of the people, but occasioned a yet stranger revulsion of feeling among the patricians. The people now were for repealing the sentence against Marcius, and calling him back into the city; whereas the senate, being assembled to consider the decree, opposed and finally rejected the proposal, either out of the mere humor of opposing the people in whatever they

should desire, or because they were unwilling, perhaps, that he should owe his restoration to their kindness. When Marcius heard of this, he was more exasperated than ever, and, quitting the siege of Lavinium, marched furiously towards Rome, and encamped at a place called the Cluilian ditches, about five miles from the city. The nearness of his approach did, indeed, create much terror and disturbance, yet it also ended their dissensions for the present; as nobody now, whether consul or senator, durst any longer contradict the people in their design of recalling Marcius.

It was, therefore, unanimously agreed by all parties, that ambassadors should be despatched, offering him return to his country, and desiring him to free them from the terrors and distresses of the war. The persons sent by the senate with this message were chosen out of his kindred and acquaintance, who naturally expected a very kind reception at their first interview; in which, however, they were much mistaken. Being led through the enemy's camp, they found him sitting in state amid the chief men of the Volscians, looking insupportably proud and arrogant. He bade them declare the cause of their coming, which they did in the most gentle terms, and with a behavior suitable to their language. When they had made an end of speaking, he returned them a sharp answer, full of bitterness and angry resentment, as to what concerned himself, and the ill

usage he had received from them; but as general of the Volscians, he demanded restitution of the cities and the lands which had been seized upon during the late war, and that the same rights and franchises should be granted them at Rome, which had been before accorded to the Latins; since there could be no assurance that a peace would be firm and lasting, without just conditions on both sides. He allowed them thirty days to consider and resolve.

The ambassadors having departed, he withdrew his forces from the Roman territory. Those of the Volscians who had long envied his reputation, and could not endure to see the influence he had with the people, laid hold of this as a matter of complaint against him. Among them was Tullus himself, not for any wrong done him personally by Marcius, but through the weakness incident to human nature. He could not help feeling mortified to find his own glory totally obscured, and himself overlooked and neglected now by the Volscians, who had so great an opinion of their new leader. Yet Marcius spent no part of the time idly, but attacked the confederates of the enemy, ravaged their land, and took from them seven great and populous cities in that interval. The Romans, in the meanwhile, durst not venture out to their relief; but were utterly fearful, and showed no more disposition or capacity for action than if their bodies had been struck with a palsy and become destitute of sense and motion. But when

the thirty days were expired, and Marcius appeared again with his whole army, they sent another embassy to beseech him that he would moderate his displeasure, and would withdraw the Volscian army, and then make any proposals he thought best for both parties, but if it were his opinion that the Volscians ought to have any favor shown them, upon laying down their arms they might obtain all they could in reason desire.

The reply of Marcius was, that he should make no answer to this as general of the Volscians, but in the quality still of a Roman citizen, he would advise them to return to him before three days were at an end, with a ratification of his previous demands.

When the ambassadors came back, and acquainted the senate with the answer, seeing the whole state now threatened as it were by a tempest, a decree was made, that the whole order of their priests should go in full procession to Marcius with their pontifical array, and the dress and habit which they respectively used in their several functions, and should urge him, as before, to withdraw his forces, and then treat with his countrymen in favor of the Volscians. He granted nothing at all, nor so much as expressed himself more mildly; but without capitulating or receding, bade them once for all choose whether they would yield or fight, since the old terms were the only terms of peace. In this great perplexity, the Roman women went, some to



other temples, but the greater part, and the ladies of highest rank, to the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Among these suppliants was Valeria, sister to the great Poplicola, who happily lighting, not without divine guidance, on the right expedient, rose, and bade the others rise, and went directly with them to the house of Volumnia, the mother of Marcius. And coming in and finding her sitting with her daughter-in-law, and with her little grandchildren on her lap, Valeria, then surrounded by her companions, spoke in the name of them all :

“We, O Volumnia, and Vergilia, are come as women to women, to request a thing on which our own and the common safety depends, and which, if you consent to it, will raise your glory above that of the daughters of the Sabines, who won over their fathers and their husbands from mortal enmity to peace and friendship. Arise and come with us to Marcius; join in our supplication, for your country’s sake.”

The words of Valeria were seconded by the acclamations of the other women, to which Volumnia made answer :

“I and Vergilia, my countrywomen, have an equal share with you all in the common miseries, and we have the additional sorrow, which is wholly ours, that we have lost the merit and good fame of Marcius, and see his person confined, rather than protected, by the arms of the enemy. Make use,

however, of our service ; and lead us, if you please, to him ; we are able, if nothing more, at least to spend our last breath in making suit to him for our country."

Having spoken thus, she took Vergilia by the hand, and the young children, and so accompanied them to the Volscian camp. So lamentable a sight much affected the enemies themselves, who viewed them in respectful silence. Marcius, seeing the party of women advance, came down hastily to meet them, saluting his mother first, and embracing her a long time, and then his wife and children, sparing neither tears nor cares, but suffering himself to be borne away and carried headlong, as it were, by the impetuous violence of his passion.

When he had satisfied himself, and observed that his mother Volumnia was desirous to say something, the Volscian council being first called in, he heard her to the following effect : " Our dress and our very persons, my son, might tell you, though we should say nothing ourselves, in how forlorn a condition we have lived at home since your banishment and absence from us ; and now consider with yourself, whether we may not pass for the most unfortunate of all women, to have that sight, which should be the sweetest that we could see, converted, through I know not what fatality, to one of all others the most formidable and dreadful,—Volumnia to behold her son, and Vergilia her husband, in arms

against the walls of Rome. As for myself, if I cannot prevail with you to prefer amity and concord to quarrel and hostility, and to be the benefactor to both parties, rather than the destroyer of one of them, be assured of this, that you shall not be able to reach your country, unless you trample first upon the corpse of her that brought you into life. For it will be ill in me to loiter in the world till the day come wherein I shall see a child of mine, either led in triumph by his own countrymen, or triumphing over them."

Marcus listened to his mother while she spoke, without answering her a word; and Volumnia, seeing him stand mute also for a long time after she had ceased, resumed: "O my son, what is the meaning of this silence? Is it wrong to gratify a mother in a request like this? You have punished your country already; you have not yet paid your debt to me." Having said this, she threw herself down at his feet, as did also his wife and children; upon which Marcus, crying out, "O mother! what is it you have done to me?" raised her from the ground, and pressing her right hand with more than ordinary vehemence said: "You have gained a victory, fortunate enough for the Romans, but destructive to your son; whom you, though none else, have defeated." And after a little private conference with his mother and his wife, he sent them back again to Rome, as they desired of him.

The next morning, he broke up his camp, and led the Volscians homeward, variously affected with what he had done. None, however, opposed his commands ; they all obediently followed him, though rather from admiration of his virtue, than any regard they now had to his authority. The Roman people, meantime, began to crown themselves with garlands and prepare for sacrifice, as they were wont to do upon tidings brought of any signal victory. But the joy and transport of the whole city was chiefly remarkable in the honors and marks of affection paid to the women, as well by the senate as the people in general ; every one declaring that they were, beyond all question, the instruments of the public safety. And the senate having passed a decree that whatsoever they would ask in the way of any favor or honor should be allowed and done for them by the magistrates, they demanded simply that a temple might be erected to the Goddess Fortuna, the expense of which they offered to defray out of their own contributions, if the city would be at the cost of sacrifices, and other matters pertaining to the due honor of the gods, out of the common treasury. The senate, much commending their public spirit, caused the temple to be built and a statue set up in it at the public charge ; they, however, made up a sum among themselves, for a second image of Fortune, which the Romans say uttered these words as they were putting it up : “Blessed of the gods, O women, is your gift.”

When Marcius came back to Antium, Tullus, who thoroughly hated and greatly feared him, proceeded at once to contrive how he might immediately despatch him; as, if he escaped now, he was never likely to give him such another advantage. Having, therefore, got together and suborned several partisans against him, he required Marcius to resign his charge, and give the Volscians an account of his administration.

An assembly was called, and popular speakers, as had been concerted, came forward to exasperate and incense the multitude; but when Marcius stood up to answer, even the most tumultuous part of the people became quiet on a sudden, and out of reverence allowed him to speak without the least disturbance; while all the better people, and such as were satisfied with a peace, made it evident by their whole behavior that they would give him a favorable hearing, and judge and pronounce according to equity.

For these reasons the conspirators judged it prudent not to test the general feeling; but the boldest of their faction fell upon Marcius in a body, and slew him there, none of those that were present offering to defend him. But it quickly appeared that the action was in nowise approved of by the majority of the Volscians, who hurried out of their several cities to show respect to his corpse; to which they gave honorable interment, adorning his sepulchre with arms and trophies, as the monument of a

noble hero and a famous general. When the Romans heard tidings of his death, they gave no other signification either of honor or of anger toward him, but simply granted the request of the women, that they might put themselves into mourning and bewail him for ten months, as the usage was upon the loss of a father or a son or a brother; that being the period fixed for the longest lamentation by the laws of Numa Pompilius.

Marcus was no sooner deceased, than the Volscians felt the need of his assistance. They quarrelled first with the Æquians, their confederates and friends, about the appointment of the general of their joint forces, and carried their dispute to the length of bloodshed and slaughter; and were then defeated by the Romans in a pitched battle, where not only Tullus lost his life, but the flower of their whole army was cut to pieces; so that they were forced to submit and accept of peace upon very dishonorable terms, becoming subjects of Rome, and pledging themselves to submission.

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### COMPARISON OF ALCIBIADES AND CORIOLANUS.

Having described all their actions that seem to deserve commemoration, their military ones, we may say, incline the balance very decidedly upon neither

side. They both, in pretty equal measure, displayed on numerous occasions the daring and courage of the soldier, and the skill and foresight of the general; unless, indeed, the fact that Alcibiades was victorious and successful in many contests both by sea and land ought to gain him the title of a more complete commander. That so long as they remained and held command in their respective countries they eminently sustained, and when they were driven into exile yet more eminently damaged, the fortunes of those countries, is common to both. All the sober citizens felt disgust at the petulance, the low flattery, and base seductions which Alcibiades, in his public life, allowed himself to employ with the view of winning the people's favor; and the ungraciousness, pride, and oligarchical haughtiness which Marcius, on the other hand, displayed in his, were the abhorrence of the Roman populace.

Marcius, according to our common conceptions of his character, was undoubtedly simple and straightforward; Alcibiades, unscrupulous as a public man, and false. He is more especially blamed for the dishonorable and treacherous way in which, as Thucydides relates, he imposed upon the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, and disturbed the continuance of the peace. Yet this policy, which engaged the city again in war, nevertheless placed it in a powerful and formidable position, by the accession, which Alcibiades obtained for it, of the alliance of Argos



and Mantinea. And Coriolanus also, Dionysius relates, used unfair means to excite war between the Romans and the Volscians, in the false report which he spread about the visitors at the games; and the motive of this action seems to make it the worse of the two; since it was not done, like the other, out of ordinary political jealousy, strife, and competition. Simply to gratify anger, from which, as Ion says, no one ever yet got any return, he threw whole districts of Italy into confusion, and sacrificed to his passion against his country numerous innocent cities. It is true, indeed, that Alcibiades, by his resentment, was the occasion of great disasters to his country, but he relented as soon as he found their feelings to be changed; and after he was driven out a second time, so far from taking pleasure in the errors and inadvertencies of their commanders, or being indifferent to the danger they were thus incurring, he did the very thing that Aristides is so highly commended for doing to Themistocles: he came to the generals who were his enemies, and pointed out to them what they ought to do. Coriolanus, on the other hand, first of all attacked the whole body of his countrymen, though only one portion of them had done him any wrong, while the other, the better and nobler portion, had actually suffered, as well as sympathized, with him. And, secondly, by the obduracy with which he resisted numerous embassies and supplications, addressed in propitiation of his personal anger, he showed that it had been to destroy and

overthrow, not to recover and regain, his country, that he had excited bitter and implacable hostilities against it. There is, indeed, one distinction that may be drawn. Alcibiades, it may be said, was not safe among the Spartans, and had the inducements at once of fear and of hatred to lead him again to Athens; whereas Marcius could not honorably have left the Volscians, when they were behaving so well to him: he, in the command of their forces and the enjoyment of their entire confidence, was in a very different position from Alcibiades, whom the Lacedæmonians did not so much wish to adopt into their service, as to use, and then abandon. Driven about from house to house in the city, and from general to general in the camp, the latter had no resort but to place himself in the hands of Tissaphernes; unless we are to suppose that his object in courting favor with him was to avert the entire destruction of his native city, whither he wished himself to return.

As regards money, Alcibiades, we are told, was often guilty of procuring it by accepting bribes, and spent it in luxury and dissipation. Coriolanus declined to receive it, even when pressed upon him by his commanders as an honor; and one great reason for the odium he incurred with the populace in the discussions about their debts was, that he trampled upon the poor, not for money's sake, but out of pride and insolence.

Antipater, in a letter written upon the death of Aristotle the philosopher, observes: "Amongst his

other gifts he had that of persuasiveness"; and the absence of this in the character of Marcius made all his great actions and noble qualities unacceptable to those whom they benefited: pride, and self-will, the consort, as Plato calls it, of solitude, made him insufferable. With the skill which Alcibiades, on the contrary, possessed to treat every one in the way most agreeable to him, we cannot wonder that all his successes were attended with the most exuberant favor and honor; his very errors, at times, being accompanied by something of grace and felicity. And so, in spite of great and frequent hurt that he had done the city, he was repeatedly appointed to office and command; while Coriolanus stood in vain for a place which his great services had made his due.

Alcibiades never professed to deny that it was pleasant to him to be honored and distasteful to him to be overlooked; and, accordingly, he always tried to place himself upon good terms with all that he met; Coriolanus' pride forbade him to pay attentions to those who could have promoted his advancement, and yet his love of distinction made him feel hurt and angry when he was disregarded. Such are the faulty parts of his character, which in all other respects was a noble one. For his temperance, continence, and probity he might claim to be compared with the best and purest of the Greeks; not in any sort or kind with Alcibiades, the least scrupulous and most entirely careless of human beings in all these points.



## ARISTIDES.

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ARISTIDES, the son of Lysimachus, was of the tribe Antiochis, and township of Alopece. Being the friend and supporter of that Clisthenes who settled the government after the expulsion of the tyrants, and emulating and admiring Lycurgus the Lacedæmonian above all politicians, he adhered to the aristocratical principles of government; and had Themistocles, son to Neocles, his adversary on the side of the populace. Some say that, when boys together, they were always at variance in all their words and actions, serious as well as playful. One was ready, venturesome, and subtle, engaging readily and eagerly in every thing; the other of a staid and settled temper, intent on the exercise of justice, not admitting any degree of falsity, indecorum, or trickery, even at his play. Ariston of Ceos says that the first origin of the enmity, which rose to so great a height, was a love affair; they were rivals for the affection of the beautiful Stesilaus of Ceos, and were passionate beyond all moderation, and did not lay aside their animosity when the beauty that had ex-

cited it passed away, but carried their heats and differences into public business.

Themistocles joined an association of partisans, and fortified himself with considerable strength; so that when some one told him that if he were impartial he would make a good magistrate, "I wish," replied he, "I may never sit on that tribunal where my friends shall not plead a greater privilege than strangers." But Aristides walked alone on his path in politics, being unwilling to go with his associates in ill doing, or to cause them vexation by not gratifying their wishes. When he had once opposed Themistocles in some measures that were expedient, and had got the better of him, he could not refrain from saying, when he left the assembly, that unless they sent Themistocles and himself to the barathrum,<sup>1</sup> there could be no safety for Athens. Another time, when urging some proposal upon the people, although there was much opposition to it, yet he was gaining the day; but just as the president of the assembly was about to put it to the vote, perceiving by what had been said in debate the inexpediency of his advice, he let it fall. He often brought in his bills by other persons, lest Themistocles, through party spirit against him, should be any hindrance to the good of the public.

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<sup>1</sup> A pit into which the dead bodies of malefactors, or perhaps living malefactors themselves, were thrown. "The gallows" perhaps is the English term most nearly corresponding to the barathrum, as commonly spoken of in the Athenian popular language.

In all the vicissitudes of public affairs, the constancy he showed was admirable, not being elated with honors, and demeaning himself sedately in adversity. Once, at the recital of these verses of Æschylus in the theatre, relating to Amphiaraus,

For not at seeming just, but being so,  
He aims ; and from his depths of soil below,  
Harvests of wise and prudent counsels grow,

the eyes of all the spectators were turned upon Aristides, as if this virtue in an especial manner belonged to him.

He was a most determined champion of justice, not only against feelings of friendship and favor, but wrath and malice. Thus it is reported of him that prosecuting one who was his enemy, when the judges after accusation refused to hear the criminal, and were proceeding immediately to pass sentence upon him, he rose in haste from his seat and joined in petition with him for a hearing, and that he might enjoy the privilege of the law. Another time, judging between two private persons, when the one declared his adversary had very much injured Aristides, "Tell me rather, good friend," he said, "what wrong he has done you ; for it is your cause, not my own, which I now sit judge of." Being chosen to the charge of the public revenue, he made it appear, that not only those of his time, but the preceding officers, had alienated much treasure, and especially Themistocles—

Well known he was an able man to be,  
But with his fingers apt to be too free.

Therefore, Themistocles, associating several persons against Aristides, and impeaching him when he gave in his accounts, caused him to be condemned of robbing the public; so Idomeneus states; but the best and chief men of the city much resented it, so that he was not only exempted from the fine imposed upon him, but again called to the same employment. Pretending now to repent of his former practice, and carrying himself with more remissness, he became acceptable to such as pillaged the treasury, by not detecting or calling them to an exact account. So that those who had their fill of the public money began highly to applaud Aristides, and sued to the people to have him once more chosen treasurer. But when they were upon the point of election, he reproved the Athenians in these words: "When I discharged my office well and faithfully, I was insulted and abused; but now that I have countenanced the public thieves in a variety of malpractices, I am considered an admirable patriot. I am more ashamed, therefore, of this present honor than of the former sentence; and I pity your condition, with whom it is more praiseworthy to oblige bad men than to preserve the revenue of the public."

When Datis was sent by Darius under pretence of punishing the Athenians for their burning of Sardis, but in reality to reduce the Greeks under his domin-



ion, and had landed at Marathon and laid waste the country, among the ten commanders appointed by the Athenians for the war, Miltiades was of the greatest name ; but the second place, both for reputation and power, was possessed by Aristides ; and when his opinion to join battle was added to that of Miltiades, it did much to incline the balance. Every leader by his day having the command in chief, when it came to Aristides' turn, he delivered it into the hands of Miltiades, showing his fellow-officers, that it is not dishonorable to obey and follow wise and honorable men, but, on the contrary, noble and prudent. So appeasing their rivalry, and bringing them to acquiesce in the best advice, he confirmed Miltiades in the strength of an undivided and unmolested authority. And now every one, yielding his day of command, looked for orders only to him. During the fight the main body of the Athenians being the hardest pressed, the barbarians, for a long time, making opposition there against the tribes Leontis and Antiochis, Themistocles and Aristides being ranged together, fought valiantly ; the one being of the tribe Leontis, the other of the Antiochis. But, after they had beaten the barbarians back to their ships, and perceived that they did not sail for the isles, but were driven in by the force of sea and wind towards the country of Attica, fearing lest they should take the city, they hurried away thither with nine tribes, and reached it the same day.

Of all the virtues of Aristides, the common people were most affected with his justice, because of its continual and common use; and thus, although of mean fortune and ordinary birth, he possessed himself of the most kingly and divine appellation of Just; which kings, however, and tyrants have never sought after; but have taken delight to be surnamed besiegers of cities, thunderers, conquerors, eagles, and hawks; affecting, it seems, the reputation which proceeds from power and violence, rather than that of virtue.

Aristides, therefore, had at first the fortune to be beloved for this surname, but at length envied. Especially when Themistocles spread a rumor amongst the people that, by determining and judging all matters privately, he had destroyed the courts of judicature, and was secretly making way for a monarchy in his own person, without the assistance of guards. Moreover, the spirit of the people, now grown high, and confident with their late victory, naturally entertained feelings of dislike to all of more than common fame and reputation. Coming together, therefore, from all parts into the city, they banished Aristides by the ostracism, giving their jealousy of his reputation the name of fear of tyranny. For ostracism was not the punishment of any criminal act but was speciously said to be the mere depression, and humiliation of excessive greatness and power; and was in fact a gentle relief and mitigation of en-

vious feeling, which was thus allowed to vent itself in inflicting no intolerable injury, only a ten-years' banishment. But after it came to be exercised upon base and villanous fellows, they desisted from it; Hyperbolus being the last whom they banished by the ostracism.

The cause of Hyperbolus' banishment is said to have been this. Alcibiades and Nicias, men that bore the greatest sway in the city, were of different factions. As the people, therefore, were about to vote the ostracism, and obviously to decree it against one of them, consulting together and uniting their parties, they contrived the banishment of Hyperbolus. Upon which the people, being offended, as if some contempt or affront was put upon the thing, left off and quite abolished it. It was performed, to be short, in this manner. Every one taking an *ostrakon*, that is, a sherd, or piece of earthenware, wrote upon it the citizen's name he would have banished, and carried it to a certain part of the market-place surrounded with wooden rails. First, the magistrates numbered all the sherds in gross (for if there were less than six thousand the ostracism was imperfect); then, laying every name by itself, they pronounced him whose name was written by the largest number banished for ten years, with the enjoyment of his estate. As, therefore, they were writing the names on the sherds, it is reported that an illiterate clownish fellow, giving Aristides his

sherd, supposing him a common citizen, begged him to write *Aristides* upon it; and he being surprised and asking if Aristides had ever done him any injury, "None at all," said he, "neither know I the man; but I am tired of hearing him everywhere called the Just." Aristides, hearing this, is said to have made no reply, but returned the sherd with his own name inscribed. At his departure from the city, lifting up his hands to heaven, he made a prayer (the reverse, it would seem, of that of Achilles), that the Athenians might never have any occasion which should constrain them to remember Aristides.

But three years afterwards, when Xerxes was marching through Thessaly and Bœotia into the country of Attica, they repealed the law, and decreed the return of the banished: chiefly fearing lest Aristides might join himself to the enemy, and bring over many of his fellow-citizens to the party of the barbarians; much mistaking the man, who, already before the decree, was exerting himself to excite and encourage the Greeks to the defence of their liberty.

After the battle of Salamis, Xerxes, much terrified, immediately hastened to the Hellespont. But Mardonius was left with the most servicable part of the army, about three hundred thousand men, and was a formidable enemy, confident in his infantry, and writing messages of defiance to the Greeks: "You have overcome by sea men accustomed to fight on land, and unskilled at the oar; but there lies now

the open country of Thessaly; and the plains of Bœotia offer a broad and worthy field for brave men, either horse or foot, to contend in." But he sent privately to the Athenians, both by letter and word of mouth from the king, promising to rebuild their city, to give them a vast sum of money, and constitute them lords of all Greece, on condition they would not engage in the war. The Lacedæmonians, receiving news of this, and fearing, despatched an embassy to the Athenians, entreating that they would send their wives and children to Sparta, and receive support from them for their superannuated. For, being despoiled both of their city and country, the people were suffering extreme distress. Having given audience to the ambassadors, they returned an answer, upon the motion of Aristides, worthy of the highest admiration: declaring, that they forgave their enemies if they thought all things purchasable by wealth, than which they knew nothing of greater value; but that they felt offended at the Lacedæmonians for looking only to their present poverty, without any remembrance of their valor and magnanimity, and offering them their victuals to fight in the cause of Greece. Aristides made this proposal, brought back the ambassadors into the assembly, and charged them to tell the Lacedæmonians that all the treasure on the earth or under it was of less value with the people of Athens than the liberty of Greece. And, showing the sun to those who came

from Mardonius, "as long as that retains the same course, so long," said he, "shall the citizens of Athens wage war with the Persians for the country which has been wasted, and the temples that have been profaned and burnt by them." Moreover, he proposed a decree, that the priests should anathematize him who sent any herald to the Medes, or deserted the alliance of Greece.

When Mardonius made a second incursion into the country of Attica, the people passed over again into the isle of Salamis. Aristides himself went to Lacedæmon, and reproved them for their delay and neglect in abandoning Athens once more to the barbarians; and demanded their assistance for that part of Greece which was not yet lost. The Ephori, hearing this, made show of sporting all day, and of carelessly keeping holy day (for they were then celebrating the Hyacinthian festival), but in the night, selecting five thousand Spartans, each of whom was attended by seven Helots, they sent them forth unknown to those from Athens. And when Aristides again reprehended them, they told him in derision that he either doted or dreamed, for the army was already at Oresteum, in their march towards the *strangers*, as they called the Persians. Aristides answered, that they jested unreasonably, deluding their friends, instead of their enemies.

Being chosen general for the war, he repaired to Plataea, with eight thousand Athenians, where Pausa-

nias, generalissimo of all Greece, joined him with the Spartans ; and the forces of the other Greeks came in to them. The encampment of the barbarians extended all along the bank of the river Asopus, their numbers being so great there was no enclosing them all, but their baggage and most valuable things were surrounded with a square bulwark, each side of which was the length of ten furlongs.

The Tegeatans, contesting the post of honor with the Athenians, demanded that, according to custom, the Lacedæmonians being ranged on the right wing of the battle, they might have the left, alleging several matters in commendation of their ancestors. The Athenians being indignant at the claim, Aristides came forward and said : “ To contend with the Tegeatans for noble descent and valor, the present time permits not ; but this we say to you, O you Spartans, and you the rest of the Greeks, that place neither takes away nor contributes courage ; we shall endeavor, by maintaining the post you assign us, to reflect no dishonor on our former performances. For we are come, not to differ with our friends, but to fight our enemies ; not to extol our ancestors, but to behave as valiant men. This battle will manifest how much each city, captain, and private soldier is worth to Greece.” The council of war, upon this address, decided for the Athenians, and gave them the other wing of the battle.

At this juncture, Mardonius made trial of the



Grecian courage, by sending his whole number of horse, in which he thought himself much the stronger, against them, while they were all, except the Megarians, encamped at the foot of Mount Cithæron, in strong and rocky places. They, being three thousand in number, had pitched their tents on the plain, where the cavalry charged and made inroads upon them from all sides. They sent, therefore, in haste to Pausanias, demanding relief, not being able alone to sustain the great numbers of the barbarians. Pausanias, hearing this, and perceiving the tents of the Megarians almost hidden by the multitude of darts and arrows, and themselves driven together into a narrow space, was at a loss how to aid them with his battalions of heavy-armed Lacedæmonians. He asked, therefore, as a test of emulation in valor and love of distinction, to the commanders and captains who were around him, if any would voluntarily take upon them the defence and succor of the Megarians. The rest being backward, Aristides undertook the enterprise for the Athenians, and sent Olympiodorus, the most valiant of his inferior officers, with three hundred chosen men and some archers under his command. These were soon in readiness, and running upon the enemy, as soon as it was perceived by Masistius, who commanded the cavalry of the barbarians, a man of wonderful courage and of extraordinary bulk and comeliness of person, he turned his steed and made towards them.

They sustained the shock and joined battle with him, as though by this encounter they were to try the success of the whole war. But after Masistius' horse received a wound, and flung him, and he, falling, could hardly raise himself through the weight of his armor, the Athenians pressed upon him with blows, but could not easily get at his person, armed as he was, breast, head, and limbs all over, with gold and brass and iron; but one of them at last, running a javelin under the visor of his helmet, slew him, and the rest of the Persians, leaving the body, fled. The greatness of the Greek success was known, not by the multitude of the slain (for an inconsiderable number were killed), but by the sorrow the barbarians expressed. For they shaved themselves, their horses, and mules for the death of Masistius, and filled the plain with howling and lamentation; having lost a person who, next to Mardonius himself, was by far the chief among them, both for valor and authority.

After this skirmish of the horse, they kept from fighting a long time; for the soothsayers, by the sacrifices, foretold the victory both to Greeks and Persians, if they stood upon the defensive part only, but if they became aggressors, the contrary. At length Mardonius, when he had but a few days' provision, and the Greek forces were increasing continually, impatient of delay, determined to lie still no longer, but, passing Asopus by daybreak, to fall

unexpectedly upon the Greeks. This he signified the night before to the captains of his host. But about midnight, a certain horseman stole into the Greek camp, and coming to the watch, desired them to summon Aristides, the Athenian, to him. He came speedily, and the stranger said: "I am Alexander, King of the Macedonians, and have come here through the greatest danger in the world for the good-will I bear you, lest a sudden onset should dismay you, so as to behave in the fight worse than usual. For to-morrow Mardonius will give you battle, urged, not by any hope of success or courage, but by want of victuals; for the prophets prohibit him from the battle, the sacrifices and oracles being unfavorable; but the army is in despondency and consternation, and necessity forces him to try his fortune, or sit still and endure the last extremity of want." Alexander, thus saying, entreated Aristides to take notice and remember him, but not to tell any other. But he replied that it was not fair to conceal the matter from Pausanias (because he was general); as for any others he would keep it secret from them till the battle was fought; but if the Greeks obtained the victory, that then no one should be ignorant of Alexander's good-will and kindness toward them. After this, the King of the Macedonians rode back again, and Aristides went to Pausanias' tent and told him; and they sent for the rest of the captains and gave orders that the army should be in battle array.

Meantime, day came upon them; and Mardonius having his army in array, fell upon the Lacedæmonians with great shouting and noise of barbarous people, as if they were not about to join battle, but crush the Greeks in their flight—a thing which very nearly came to pass. For Pausanias, perceiving what was done, made a halt, and commanded every one to put themselves in order for the battle; but through the disturbance he was in, on account of the sudden approach of the enemy, he forgot to give the signal to the Greeks in general. Whence it was, that they did not come immediately, or in a body, to their assistance, but by small companies and straggling, when the fight was already begun. Pausanias, offering sacrifice, could not procure favorable omens, and so commanded the Lacedæmonians to set down their shields at their feet and quietly await for his directions, making no resistance to any of their enemies. At this time, Callicrates, who, we are told, was the most comely man in the army, being shot with an arrow and upon the point of expiring, said that he did not lament his death (for he came from home to lay down his life in the defence of Greece), but that he died without action. While Pausanias was thus in the act of supplication, the sacrifices appeared propitious, and the soothsayers foretold victory. The word being given, the Lacedæmonian battalion of foot seemed, on the sudden, like some fierce animal, setting up his bristles,

and betaking himself to the combat; and the barbarians perceived that they encountered with men who would fight to the death. Therefore, holding their wicker shields before them, they shot their arrows amongst the Lacedæmonians. But they, keeping together in the order of a phalanx, and falling upon their enemies, forced their shields out of their hands, and, striking with their pikes at the breasts and faces of the Persians, overthrew many of them; they, however, fell neither unrevenged nor without courage. For taking hold of the spears with their bare hands, they broke many of them, and betook themselves with effect to the sword; and making use of their falchions and scimitars, and wrestling the Lacedæmonians' shields from them, and grappling with them, for a long time stood their ground.

Meanwhile, the Athenians were standing still, waiting for the Lacedæmonians to come up. But when they heard a great noise as of men engaged in fight, and a messenger came from Pausanias, to inform them of what was going on, they made haste to their assistance. And as they passed through the plain to the place where the noise was, the recreant Greeks, who took part with the enemy, came upon them. Aristides, as soon as he saw them, going a considerable space before the rest, cried out to them, by the guardian gods of Greece, not to enter the fight, and be no impediment to those who were

going to succor the defenders of Greece. But when he perceived that they gave no attention to him, and had prepared themselves for the battle, then turning from the present relief of the Lacedæmonians, he engaged with them, being five thousand in number. But the greatest part soon gave way and retreated, as the barbarians also were put to flight.

The battle being thus divided, the Lacedæmonians first beat off the Persians; and a Spartan, named Arimnestus, slew Mardonius by a blow on the head with a stone, as the oracle in the temple of Amphiaraus had foretold to him. For Mardonius sent a Lydian thither, and another person, a Carian, to the cave of Trophonius. This latter, the priest of the oracle answered in his own language. But to the Lydian sleeping in the temple of Amphiaraus, it seemed that a minister of the divinity stood before him and commanded him to be gone; and on his refusing to do it, flung a great stone at his head, so that he thought himself slain with the blow. Such is the story. Of three hundred thousand of the enemy, forty thousand only are said to have escaped with Artabazus; while on the Greeks' side there perished in all thirteen hundred and sixty; of whom fifty-two were Athenians, all of the tribe *Æantis*, that fought, says Clidemus, with the greatest courage of all; and for this reason the men of this tribe used to offer sacrifice for the victory, as enjoined by the oracle, at the public expense; ninety-one were

Lacedæmonians, and sixteen Tegeatans. They engraved upon the altar this inscription :—

The Greeks, when by their courage and their might,  
They had repelled the Persian in the fight,  
The common altar of freed Greece to be,  
Reared this to Jupiter who guards the free.

The battle of Platæa was fought on the fourth day of the month Boëdromion, on which day there is still a convention of the Greeks at Platæa, and the Platæans still offer sacrifice for the victory to “Jupiter of freedom.”

After this, the Athenians, not yielding the honor of the day to the Lacedæmonians, nor consenting that they should erect a trophy, peace was well-nigh destroyed by a dissension among the armed Greeks; but Aristides, by soothing and counselling the commanders, especially Leocrates and Myronides, pacified and persuaded them to leave the thing to the decision of the Greeks. Cleocritus of Corinth rising up, made people think he would ask the palm for the Corinthians (for next to Sparta and Athens, Corinth was in greatest estimation); but he delivered his opinion, to the general admiration, in favor of the Platæans; and counselled to take away all contention by giving them the reward and glory of the victory, whose being honored could be distasteful to neither party. This being said, first Aristides gave consent in the name of the Athenians, and Pausanius, then, for the Lacedæmonians. So, being reconciled, they



set apart eighty talents for the Plataëans, with which they built the temple and dedicated the image to Minerva, and adorned the temple with pictures, which even to this very day retain their lustre. But the Lacedæmonians and Athenians each erected a trophy apart by themselves. On their consulting the oracle about offering sacrifice, Apollo answered that they should dedicate an altar to Jupiter of freedom, but should not sacrifice till they had extinguished the fires throughout the country, as having been defiled by the barbarians, and had kindled unpolluted fire at the common altar at Delphi. The magistrates of Greece, therefore, went forthwith and compelled such as had fire to put it out; and Euchidas, a Plataean, promising to fetch fire with all possible speed, from the altar of the god, ran to Delphi, and having sprinkled and purified his body, crowned himself with laurel; and taking the fire from the altar ran back to Plataea, arriving before sun-set, and performing in one day a journey of a thousand furlongs; and saluting his fellow-citizens and delivering them the fire, he immediately fell down, and a short time after expired. Then the Plataëans, taking him up, interred him in the temple of Diana Euclia, setting this inscription over him: "Euchidas ran to Delphi and back again in one day."

A general assembly of all the Greeks being called, Aristides proposed a decree, that the deputies and

religious representatives of the Greek states should assemble annually at Plataea, and every fifth year celebrate the Eleutheria, or games of freedom. And that there should be a levy upon all Greece, for the war against the barbarians, of ten thousand spearmen, one thousand horse, and a hundred sail of ships; but the Plataeans to be exempt, and sacred to the service of the gods, offering sacrifice for the welfare of Greece. These things being ratified, the Plataeans undertook the performance of annual sacrifice to such as were slain and buried in that place; which they still perform in the following manner. On the sixteenth day of Mæmacterion they make their procession, which, beginning by break of day, is lead by a trumpeter sounding for onset; then follow chariots loaded with myrrh and garlands; and then a black bull; then come the young men of free birth carrying libations of wine and milk in large two-handed vessels, and jars of oil and precious ointments, none of servile condition being permitted to have any hand in this ministration, because the men died in defence of freedom; after all comes the chief magistrate of Plataea (for whom it is unlawful at other times for him either to touch iron, or wear any other colored garment but white), at that time apparelled in a purple robe; and, taking a water-pot out of the city record-office, he proceeds, bearing a sword in his hand, through the middle of the town to the sepulchres. Then drawing water out of a

spring, he washes and anoints the monuments, and sacrificing the bull upon a pile of wood, and making supplication to Jupiter and Mercury of the earth, invites those valiant men who perished in the defence of Greece, to the banquet and the libations of blood. After this, mixing a bowl of wine, and pouring out for himself, he says: "I drink to those who lost their lives for the liberty of Greece." These solemnities the Platæans observe to this day.

Theophrastus tells us that Aristides was, in his own private affairs, and those of his fellow-citizens, rigorously just, but that in public matters he acted often in accordance with his country's policy, which demanded, sometimes, not a little injustice. It is reported of him that he said in a debate, upon the motion of the Samians for removing the treasure from Delos to Athens, contrary to the league, that the thing indeed was not just, but was expedient.

In fine, having established the dominion of his city over so many people, he himself remained indigent; and always delighted as much in the glory of being poor, as in that of his trophies; as is evident from the following story. Callias, the torch-bearer, was related to him, and was prosecuted by his enemies in a capital cause, in which, after they had slightly argued the matters on which they indicted him, they proceeded, beside the point, to address the judges: "You know," said they, "Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, who is the admiration of all



MOUNT OLYMPUS.

Greece. In what a condition do you think his family is at his house, when you see him appear in public in such a threadbare cloak? Is it not probable that one who, out-of-doors, goes thus exposed to the cold, must want food and other necessities at home? Callias, the wealthiest of the Athenians, does nothing to relieve either him or his wife and children in their poverty, though he is his own cousin, and has made use of him in many cases, and often reaped advantage by his interest with you." But Callias, perceiving that the judges were particularly moved by this, and were exasperated against him, called in Aristides, who testified that when Callias offered him divers presents, and entreated him to accept them, he had refused, answering, that it became him better to be proud of his poverty than Callias of his wealth. On Aristides deposing these facts in favor of Callias, there was not one who heard them that went not away desirous rather to be poor like Aristides than rich as Callias. Thus Æschines, the scholar of Socrates, writes. But Plato declares, that of all the great and renowned men in the city of Athens, he was the only one worthy of consideration; for while Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles filled the city with porticos, treasure, and many other vain things, Aristides guided his public by the rule of justice. He showed his moderation very plainly in his conduct towards Themistocles himself. For though Themistocles had been his adversary in

all his undertakings, and was the cause of his banishment, yet when he afforded a similar opportunity of revenge, being accused by the city, Aristides bore him no malice ; but while Alcmaeon, Cimon, and many others were prosecuting and impeaching him, Aristides alone neither did nor said any evil against him, and no more triumphed over his enemy in his adversity than he had envied him his prosperity.

Some say Aristides died in Pontus, during a voyage upon the affairs of the public; others that he died of old age at Athens, being in great honor and veneration among his fellow-citizens.

His monument is to be seen at Phalerum, which they say was built for him by the city, he not having left enough even to defray funeral charges. And it is stated, that his two daughters were publicly married out of the prytaneum, or state-house, by the city, which decreed each of them three thousand drachmas for her portion ; and that upon his son Lysimachus, the people bestowed a hundred minas of money, and as many acres of planted land, and ordered him besides, upon the motion of Alcibiades, four drachmas a day.







## C I M O N .

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CIMON was the son of Miltiades and Hegesipyle, who was by birth a Thracian, and daughter to the king Olorus. By this means the historian Thucydides was his kinsman by his mother's side; for his father's name also, in remembrance of this common ancestor, was Olorus, and he was the owner of the gold mines in Thrace, and met his death, it is said, by violence, in Scape Hyle, a district of Thrace. Cimon was left an orphan very young, with his sister Elpinice, who was also young and unmarried. And at first he had but an indifferent reputation, being looked upon as disorderly in his habits, fond of drinking, and resembling his grandfather, also called Cimon, in character, whose simplicity got him the surname of Coalemus the simpleton. Stesimbrotus of Thasos, who lived about the same time with Cimon, reports of him that he had little acquaintance either with music or any of the other liberal studies and accomplishments then common among the Greeks; that he had nothing whatever of the quickness and the ready speech of his countrymen





PLAINS OF MARATHON.

in Attica; that he had great nobleness and candor in his disposition, and in his character in general resembled rather a native of Peloponnesus than of Athens; as Euripides describes Hercules:—

— Rude

And unrefined, for great things well-endued;

for this may fairly be added to the character which Stesimbrotus has given of him.

Almost all the points of Cimon's character were noble and good. He was as daring as Miltiades, and not inferior to Themistocles in judgment, and was incomparably more just and honest than either of them. Fully their equal in all military virtues, in the ordinary duties of a citizen at home he was immeasurably their superior. And this, too, when he was very young, his years not yet strengthened by any experience. For when Themistocles, upon the Median invasion, advised the Athenians to forsake their city and their country, and to carry all their arms on shipboard, and fight the enemy by sea, in the straits of Salamis; when all the people stood amazed at the confidence and rashness of this advice, Cimon was seen, the first of all men, passing with a cheerful countenance through the Ceramicus, on his way with his companions to the citadel, carrying a bridle in his hand to offer to the goddess, intimating that there was no more need of horsemen now, but of mariners. There, after he had paid his devotions

to the goddess, and offered up the bridle, he took down one of the bucklers that hung upon the walls of the temple, and went down to the port; by this example giving confidence to many of the citizens. He was also of a fairly handsome person, according to the poet Ion, tall and large, and let his thick and curly hair grow long. After he had acquitted himself gallantly in this battle of Salamis, he obtained great repute among the Athenians, and was regarded with affection as well as admiration. He had many who followed after him, and bade him aspire to actions not less famous than his father's battle of Marathon. And when he came forward in political life the people welcomed him gladly, being now weary of Themistocles; in opposition to whom, and because of the frankness and easiness of his temper, which was agreeable to every one, they advanced Cimon to the highest employments in the government. The man that contributed most to his promotion was Aristides, who early discerned in his character his natural capacity, and purposely raised him, that he might be a counterpoise to the craft and boldness of Themistocles.

After the Medes had been driven out of Greece, Cimon was sent out as admiral, when the Athenians had not yet attained their dominion by sea, but still followed Pausanias and the Lacedæmonians; and his fellow-citizens under his command were highly distinguished, both for the excellence of their dis-

cipline, and for their extraordinary zeal and readiness. And further, perceiving that Pausanias was carrying on secret communications with the barbarians, and writing letters to the king of Persia to betray Greece, and, puffed up with authority and success, was treating the allies haughtily, and committing many wanton injustices, Cimon, taking advantage, by acts of kindness to those who were suffering wrong, and by his general humane bearing, robbed him of the command of the Greeks, before he was aware, not by arms, but by his mere language and character.

Cimon, strengthened with the accession of the allies, went as general into Thrace. For he was told that some great men among the Persians, of the king's kindred, being in possession of Eion, a city situated upon the river Strymon, infested the neighboring Greeks. First he defeated these Persians in battle, and shut them up within the walls of their town. Then he fell upon the Thracians of the country beyond the Strymon, because they supplied Eion with victuals, and driving them entirely out of the country, took possession of it as conqueror, by which means he reduced the besieged to such straits, that Butes, who commanded there for the king, in desperation set fire to the town, and burned himself, his goods, and all his relations, in one common flame. By this means, Cimon got the town, but no great booty; as the barbarians had not only con-

sumed themselves in the fire, but the richest of their effects. However, he put the country into the hands of the Athenians, a most advantageous and desirable situation for a settlement. For this action, the people permitted him to erect the stone Mercuries, upon the first of which was this inscription :—

Of bold and patient spirit, too, were those  
Who, where the Strymon under Eion flows,  
With famine and the sword, to utmost need  
Reduced at last the children of the Mede.

Upon the second stood this :—

The Athenians to their leaders this reward  
For great and useful service did accord ;  
Others, hereafter, shall, from their applause,  
Learn to be valiant in their country's cause.

And upon the third, the following :—

With Atreus' sons, this city sent of yore  
Divine Menestheus to the Trojan shore ;  
Of all the Greeks, so Homer's verses say,  
The ablest man an army to array ;  
So old the title of her sons the name  
Of chiefs and champions in the field to claim.

Though the name of Cimon is not mentioned in these inscriptions, yet his contemporaries considered them to be the very highest honors to him ; as neither Miltiades nor Themistocles ever received the like. When Miltiades claimed a garland, Sochares of Decelea stood up in the midst of the assembly

and opposed it, using words which, though ungracious, were received with applause by the people. "When you have gained a victory by yourself, Miltiades, then you may ask to triumph so too."

One mark of Cimon's great favor with the people was the judgment, afterwards so famous, upon the tragic poets. Sophocles, still a young man, had just brought forward his first plays; opinions were much divided, and the spectators had taken sides with some heat. So, to determine the case, Apsephion, who was at that time archon, would not cast lots who should be judges; but when Cimon, and his brother commanders with him, came into the theatre, after they had performed the usual rites to the god of the festival, he would not allow them to retire, but came forward and made them swear, being ten in all, one from each tribe, the usual oath; and so being sworn judges, he made them sit down to give sentence. The eagerness for victory grew all the warmer, from the ambition to get the suffrages of such honorable judges. And the victory was at last adjudged to Sophocles, which Æschylus is said to have taken so ill, that he left Athens shortly after, and went in anger to Sicily, where he died, and was buried near the city of Gela.

Ion relates that when he was a young man, and had recently come from Chios to Athens, he chanced to sup with Cimon, at Laomedon's house. After supper, when they had, according to custom, poured



out wine to the honor of the gods, Cimon was desired by the company to give them a song, which he did with sufficient success, and received the commendations of the company, who remarked on his superiority to Themistocles, who, on a like occasion, had declared he had never learnt to sing, or to play, and only knew how to make a city rich and powerful. After talking of things incident to such entertainments, they entered upon the particulars of the several actions for which Cimon had been famous. And when they were mentioning the most signal, he told them they had omitted one, upon which he valued himself most for address and good contrivance. He gave this account of it. When the allies had taken a great number of the barbarians prisoners in Sestos and Byzantium, they gave him the preference to divide the booty; he accordingly put the prisoners in one lot, and the spoils of their rich attire and jewels in the other. This the allies complained of as an unequal division; but he gave them their choice to take which lot they would, saying that the Athenians should be content with that which they refused. Herophytus of Sainos advised them to take the ornaments for their share, and leave the slaves to the Athenians; and Cimon went away, and was much laughed at for his ridiculous division. For the allies carried away the golden bracelets, and armlets, and collars, and purple robes, and the Athenians had only the naked bodies of the captives,



which they could make no advantage of, being unused to labor. But a little while after, the friends and kinsmen of the prisoners, coming from Lydia and Phrygia, redeemed every one his relations at a high ransom; so that by this means Cimon got so much treasure that he maintained his whole fleet of galleys with the money for four months; and yet there was some left to lay up in the treasury at Athens.

Cimon now grew rich, and what he gained from the barbarians with honor, he spent yet more honorably upon the citizens. For he pulled down all the enclosures of his gardens and grounds, that strangers, and the needy of his fellow-citizens, might gather of his fruits freely. At home, he kept a table, plain, but sufficient for a considerable number, to which any poor townsman had free access, and so might support himself without labor, with his whole time left free for public duties. Aristotle states, however, that this reception did not extend to all the Athenians, but only to his own fellow-townsmen, the Laciadæ.<sup>1</sup> Besides this, he always went attended

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<sup>1</sup> Every Athenian citizen belonged, as such, to a particular town or township, one of the *demi*, of which there were above a hundred in Attica, in the latest times one hundred and seventy-four, all distinct localities; but, as a man, wherever he lived, continued to belong to his father's township, the relation was not strictly a local, but rather a personal one. The town meetings were all held in Athens. Politically, the *demi* were, perhaps, hardly more than wards for registration, but socially, by connecting every man with a particular district,

by two or three young companions, very well clad; and if he met with an elderly citizen in a poor habit, one of these would change clothes with the decayed citizen, which was looked upon as very nobly done. He enjoined them, likewise, to carry a considerable quantity of coin about them, which they were to convey silently into the hands of the better class of poor men, as they stood by them in the market-place. This, Cratinus, the poet, speaks of in one of his comedies, the *Archilochi* :—

For I, Metrobius too, the scrivener poor  
Of ease and comfort in my age secure,  
By Greece's noblest son in life's decline,  
Cimon, the generous-hearted, the divine,  
Well-fed and feasted hoped till death to be,  
Death which, alas ! has taken him ere me.

Gorgias the Leontine gives him this character, that he got riches that he might use them, and used them that he might get honor by them. And Critias, one of the thirty tyrants, makes it, in his elegies, his wish to have

The Scopads' wealth, and Cimon's nobleness,  
And king Agesilaus' success.

Lichas, we know, became famous in Greece, only because on the days of the sports, when the young boys ran naked, he used to entertain the strangers

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the institution seems to have exercised a good deal of practical influence. Cimon's town, Lacia, or the *Laciadæ*, was just out of Athens, on the road to Eleusis.

that came to see these diversions. But Cimon's generosity outdid all the old Athenian hospitality and good-nature. For though it is the city's just boast that their forefathers taught the rest of Greece to sow corn, and how to use springs of water, and to kindle fire, yet Cimon, by keeping open house for his fellow-citizens, and giving travellers liberty to eat the fruits which the several seasons produced in his land, seemed to restore to the world that community of goods which mythology says existed in the reign of Saturn. Those who object to him that he did this to be popular, and gain the applause of the vulgar, are confuted by the constant tenor of the rest of his actions, which all tended to uphold the interests of the nobility and the Spartan policy, of which he gave instances when, together with Aristides, he opposed Themistocles, who was advancing the authority of the people beyond its just limits, and resisted Ephialtes, who, to please the multitude, was for abolishing the jurisdiction of the court of Areopagus. And when all the men of his time, except Aristides and Ephialtes, enriched themselves out of the public money, he still kept his hands clean and untainted, and to his last day never acted or spoke for his own private gain or emolument. They tell us that Rhœsaces, a Persian, who had traitorously revolted from the king his master, fled to Athens, and there, being harassed by sycophants, who were still accusing him to the people, he ap-

plied himself to Cimon for redress, and to gain his favor, laid down in his door-way two cups, the one full of gold, and the other of silver darics. Cimon smiled and asked him whether he wished to have Cimon's hired service or his friendship. He replied, his friendship. "If so," said he, "take away these pieces, for, being your friend, when I shall have occasion for them I will send and ask for them."

The allies of the Athenians began now to be weary of war and military service, willing to have repose, and to look after their husbandry and traffic. For they saw their enemies driven out of the country, and did not fear any new vexations from them. They still paid the tax they were assessed at, but did not send men and galleys, as they had done before. This the other Athenian generals wished to constrain them to, and by judicial proceedings against defaulters, and penalties which they inflicted on them, made the government uneasy, and even odious. But Cimon practised a contrary method; he forced no man to go that was not willing, but of those that desired to be excused from service he took money and vessels unmanned, and let them yield to the temptation of staying at home, to attend to their private business. Thus they lost their military habits, and luxury and their own folly quickly changed them into unwarlike husbandmen and traders; while Cimon, continually embarking large numbers of Athenians on board his

galleys, thoroughly disciplined them in his expeditions, and ere long made them the lords of their own paymasters. The allies, whose indolence maintained them, while they thus went sailing about everywhere, and incessantly bearing arms and acquiring skill, began to fear and flatter them, and found themselves after a while allies no longer, but unwittingly become tributaries and slaves.

Nor did any man ever do more than Cimon did to humble the pride of the Persian king. He was not content with ridding Greece of him; but following close at his heels, before the barbarians could take breath and recover themselves, what with his devastations, and his forcible reduction of some places, and the revolts and voluntary accession of others, in the end, from Ionia to Pamphylia, all Asia was clear of Persian soldiers. Word being brought him that the royal commanders were lying in wait upon the coast of Pamphylia with a numerous land army and a large fleet, he determined to make the whole sea on this side the Chelidonian islands so formidable to them that they should never dare to show themselves in it; and setting off from Cnidos and the Triopian headland with two hundred galleys, which had been originally built with particular care by Themistocles for speed and rapid evolutions, and to which he now gave greater width and roomier decks along the sides to move to and fro upon, so as to allow a great number of full-armed soldiers to take

part in the engagements and fight from them, he shaped his course first of all against the town of Phaselis, which, though inhabited by Greeks, yet would not quit the interests of Persia, but denied his galleys entrance into their port. Upon this he wasted the country, and drew up his army to their very walls; but the soldiers of Chios, who were then serving under him, being ancient friends to the Phaselites, endeavoring to propitiate the general in their behalf, at the same time shot arrows into the town, to which were fastened letters conveying intelligence. At length he concluded peace with them, upon the conditions that they should pay down ten talents, and follow him against the barbarians. The Persian admiral lay waiting for him with the whole fleet at the mouth of the river Eurymedon, with no design to fight, but expecting a reinforcement of eighty Phœnician ships on their way from Cyprus. Cimon, aware of this, put out to sea, resolved, if they would not fight a battle willingly, to force them to it. The barbarians, seeing this, retired within the mouth of the river to avoid being attacked; but when they saw the Athenians come upon them, notwithstanding their retreat, they met them with six hundred ships, as Phanodemus relates, but according to Ephorus, with three hundred and fifty. However, they did nothing worthy such mighty forces, but immediately turned the prows of their galleys toward the shore, where those that

came first threw themselves upon the land, and fled to their army drawn up thereabout, while the rest perished with their vessels, or were taken. By this one may guess at their number, for though a great many escaped out of the fight, and a great many others were sunk, yet two hundred galleys were taken by the Athenians.

When their land army drew toward the seaside, Cimon was in suspense whether he should venture to try and force his way on shore; as he should thus expose his Greeks, wearied with slaughter in the first engagement, to the swords of the barbarians, who were all fresh men, and many times their number. But seeing his men resolute, and flushed with victory, he bade them land, though they were not yet cool from their first battle. As soon as they touched ground, they set up a shout and ran upon the enemy, who stood firm and sustained the first shock with great courage, so that the fight was a hard one, and some of the principal men of the Athenians in rank and courage were slain. At length, though with much ado, they routed the barbarians, and killing some, took others prisoners, and plundered all their tents and pavilions, which were full of rich spoil. Cimon, like a skilled athlete at the games, having in one day carried off two victories, wherein he surpassed that of Salamis by sea and that of Platæa by land, was encouraged to try for yet another success. News being brought that the Phœnician succors, in



number eighty sail, had come in sight at Hydrum, he set off with all speed to find them, while they as yet had not received any certain account of the larger fleet, and were in doubt what to think; so that thus surprised, they lost all their vessels, and most of their men with them. This success of Cimon so daunted the king of Persia, that he presently made that celebrated peace, by which he engaged that his armies should come no nearer the Grecian sea than the length of a horse's course; and that none of his galleys or vessels of war should appear between the Cyanean and Chelidonian isles. In the collection which Craterus made of the public acts of the people, there is a draft of this treaty given.

The people of Athens raised so much money from the spoils of this war, which were publicly sold, that, besides other expenses, and raising the south wall of the citadel, they laid the foundation of the long walls, not, indeed, finished till at a later time, which were called the Legs. And the place where they built them being soft and marshy ground, they were forced to sink great weights of stone and rubble to secure the foundation, and did all this out of the money Cimon supplied them with.

It was he, likewise, who first embellished the upper city with those fine and ornamental places of exercise and resort, which they afterward so much frequented and delighted in. He set the market-place with

plane trees; and the Academy, which was before a bare, dry, and dirty spot, he converted into a well-watered grove, with shady alleys to walk in, and open courses for races.

When the Persians, who had made themselves masters of the Chersonese, so far from quitting it, called in the people of the interior of Thrace to help them against Cimon, whom they despised for the smallness of his forces, he set upon them with only four galleys, and took thirteen of theirs; and having driven out the Persians, and subdued the Thracians, he made the whole Chersonese the property of Athens. Next, he attacked the people of Thasos, who had revolted from the Athenians; and, having defeated them in a fight at sea, where he captured thirty-three of their vessels, he took their town by siege and acquired for the Athenians all the mines of gold on the opposite coast, and the territory dependent on Thasos. This opened him a fair passage into Macedon, so that he might, it was thought, have acquired a good portion of that country, and because he neglected the opportunity, he was suspected of corruption, and of having been bribed off by King Alexander. So, by the combination of his adversaries, he was accused of being false to his country. In his defence he told the judges that he had always shown himself in his public life the friend, not, like other men, of rich Ionians and Thessalians, to be courted, and to receive presents, but of the Lacedæmonians; for as



GROVES OF THE ACADEMY.

he admired, so he wished to imitate, the plainness of their habits, their temperance, and simplicity of living, which he preferred to any sort of riches; but that he always had been, and still was proud to enrich his country with the spoils of her enemies. Pericles proved the mildest of his prosecutors, and rose up but once all the while, almost as a matter of form, to plead against him. Cimon was acquitted.

In his public life after this, he continued, while at home, to control the common people, who would have trampled upon the nobility, and drawn all the power and sovereignty to themselves. But when he afterwards was sent out to war, the multitude broke loose, as it were, and overthrew all the ancient laws and customs they had hitherto observed, and, chiefly at the instigation of Ephialtes, withdrew the cognizance of almost all causes from the Areopagus; so that all jurisdiction now being transferred to them, the government was reduced to a perfect democracy, and this by the help of Pericles, who was already powerful, and had pronounced in favor of the common people.

He was indeed a favorer of the Lacedæmonians even from his youth, and gave the names of Lacedæmonius and Eleus to his two sons, twins.

Cimon was countenanced by the Lacedæmonians in opposition to Themistocles, whom they disliked; and while he was yet very young, they endeavored to raise and increase his credit in Athens. This the

Athenians perceived at first with pleasure, and the favor the Lacedæmonians showed him was in various ways advantageous to them and their affairs; as at that time they were just rising to power, and were occupied in winning the allies to their side. So they seemed not at all offended with the honor and kindness showed to Cimon, who then had the chief management of all the affairs of Greece, and was acceptable to the Lacedæmonians, and courteous to the allies. But afterwards the Athenians, grown more powerful, when they saw Cimon so entirely devoted to the Lacedæmonians, began to be angry, for he would always in speeches prefer them to the Athenians, and upon every occasion, when he would reprimand them for a fault, or incite them to emulation, he would exclaim: "The Lacedæmonians would not do thus." This raised the discontent, and got him in some degree the hatred, of the citizens; but that which ministered chiefly to the accusation against him fell out upon the following occasion.

In the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, King of Sparta, there happened in the country of Lacedæmon, the greatest earthquake that was known in the memory of man; the earth opened into chasms, and the mountain Taygetus was so shaken that some of the rocky points of it fell down, and, except five houses, all the town of Sparta was shattered to pieces. They say that a little before any motion was perceived, as the young

men and the boys just grown up were exercising themselves together in the middle of the portico, a hare, of a sudden, started out just by them, which the young men, though all naked and daubed with oil, ran after for sport. No sooner were they gone from the place, than the gymnasium fell down upon the boys who had stayed behind, and killed them all. Their tomb is to this day called *Sismatias*.<sup>1</sup> Archidamus, by the present danger made apprehensive of what might follow, and seeing the citizens intent upon removing the most valuable of their goods out of their houses, commanded an alarm to be sounded, as if an enemy were coming upon them, in order that they should collect about him in a body, with arms. It was this alone that saved Sparta at that time, for the Helots had come together from the country about, with design of surprising the Spartans, and overpowering those whom the earthquake had spared. But finding them armed and well prepared, they retired into the towns and openly made war with them, gaining over a number of the Lacedæmonians of the country districts; while at the same time the Messeniaps, also, made an attack upon the Spartans, who therefore despatched Periclidias to Athens to solicit succor, of whom Aristophanes says in mockery that he came and

In a red jacket, at the altars seated,  
With a white face, for men and arms entreated.

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<sup>1</sup> From *Seismos*, or, as it is written in Latin, *Sismus*, an earthquake.



This Ephialtes opposed, protesting that they ought not to raise up or assist a city that was a rival to Athens; but that being down, it were best to keep her so, and let the pride and arrogance of Sparta be trodden under. But Cimon, as Critias says, preferring the safety of Lacedæmon to the aggrandizement of his own country, so persuaded the people, that he soon marched out with a large army to their relief. Ion records, also, the most successful expression which he used to move the Athenians. "They ought not to suffer Greece to be lamed, nor their own city to be deprived of her yoke fellow."

In his return from aiding the Lacedæmonians, he passed with his army through the territory of Corinth; whereupon Lachartus reproached him for bringing his army into the country without first asking leave of the people. For he that knocks at another man's door ought not to enter the house till the master gives him leave. "But you, Corinthians, O Lachartus," said Cimon, "did not knock at the gates of the Cleonæans and Megarians, but broke them down and entered by force, thinking that all places should be open to the stronger." And having thus rallied the Corinthian he passed on with his army. Some time after this the Lacedæmonians sent a second time to desire succor of the Athenians against the Messenians and Helots, who had seized upon Ithome. But when they came, fearing their boldness and gallantry, of all that came to their



assistance, they sent them only back, alleging that they were designing innovations. The Athenians returned home, enraged at this usage, and vented their anger upon all those who were favorers of the Lacedæmonians; and seizing some slight occasion, they banished Cimon for ten years, which is the time prescribed to those that are banished by the ostracism. In the meantime, the Lacedæmonians, on their return after freeing Delphi from the Phocians, encamped their army at Tanagra, whither the Athenians presently marched with design to fight them.

Cimon, also, came thither armed and ranged himself among those of his own tribe, which was the Ceneis, desirous of fighting with the rest against the Spartans; but the Council of Five Hundred being informed of this, and frightened at it, his adversaries crying out that he would disorder the army and bring the Lacedæmonians to Athens, commanded the officers not to receive him. Wherefore Cimon left the army, conjuring Euthippus, the Anaphlystian, and the rest of his companions, who were most suspected as favoring the Lacedæmonians, to behave themselves bravely against their enemies, and by their actions make their innocence evident to their countrymen. These, being in all a hundred, took the arms of Cimon, and followed his advice: and making a body by themselves, fought so desperately with the enemy, that they were all cut off, leaving

the Athenians deep regret for the loss of such brave men, and repentance for having so unjustly suspected them. Accordingly, they did not long retain their severity toward Cimon, partly upon remembrance of his former services, and partly, perhaps, induced by the juncture of the times. For being defeated at Tanagra in a great battle, and fearing the Peloponnesians would come upon them at the opening of the spring, they recalled Cimon by a decree, of which Pericles himself was author. So reasonable were men's resentments in those times, and so moderate their anger, that it always gave way to the public good. Even ambition, the least governable of all human passions, could then yield to the necessities of the State.

Cimon, as soon as he returned, put an end to the war, and reconciled the two cities. Peace thus established, seeing the Athenians impatient of being idle, and eager for the honor and aggrandizement of war, lest they should set upon the Greeks themselves, or with so many ships cruising about the isles and Peloponnesus, they should give occasions for intestine wars, or complaints of their allies against them, he equipped two hundred galleys, with design to make an attempt upon Egypt and Cyprus; purposing, by this means, to accustom the Athenians to fight against the barbarians, and enrich themselves honestly by despoiling those who were the natural enemies to Greece. But when all things were pre-

pared, and the army ready to embark, Cimon had this dream. It seemed to him that there was a furious female dog barking at him, and, mixed with the barking, a kind of human voice uttered these words:

Come on, for thou shalt shortly be  
A pleasure to my whelps and me.

This dream was hard to interpret, yet Astyphilus of Posidonia, a man skilled in divinations, and intimate with Cimon, told him that his death was presaged by this vision, which he thus explained. A dog is enemy to him he barks at; and one is always most a pleasure to one's enemies, when one is dead; the mixture of human voice with barking signifies the Medes, for the army of the Medes is mixed up of Greeks and barbarians. After this dream, as he was sacrificing to Bacchus, and the priest cutting up the victim, a number of ants, taking up the congealed particles of the blood, laid them about Cimon's great toe. This was not observed for a good while, but at the very time when Cimon spied it, the priest came and showed him the liver of the sacrifice imperfect, wanting that part of it called the head. But he could not then recede from the enterprise, so he set sail. Sixty of his ships he sent toward Egypt; with the rest he went and fought the king of Persia's fleet, composed of Phœnician and Cilician galleys, recovered all the cities thereabout, and threatened Egypt; designing no less than the entire ruin of the

Persian empire. And the more because he was informed that Themistocles was in great repute among the barbarians, having promised the king to lead his army, whenever he should make war upon Greece. But Themistocles, it is said, abandoning all hopes of compassing his designs, very much out of the despair of overcoming the valor and good fortune of Cimon, died a voluntary death. Cimon, intent on great designs, which he was now to enter upon, keeping his navy about the isle of Cyprus, sent messengers to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon upon some secret matter. For it is not known about what they were sent, and the god would give them no answer, but commanded them to return again, for Cimon was already with him. Hearing this, they returned to sea, and as soon as they came to the Grecian army, which was then about Egypt, they understood that Cimon was dead ; and computing the time of the oracle, they found that his death had been signified, he being then already with the gods.

He died, some say, of sickness, while besieging Citium, in Cyprus ; according to others, of a wound he received in a skirmish with the barbarians. When he perceived that he was going to die, he commanded those under his charge to return, and by no means to let the news of his death be known by the way ; this they did with such secrecy that they all came home safe, and neither their enemies nor the allies knew what had happened. Thus, as Phanodemus

relates, the Grecian army was, as it were, conducted by Cimon thirty days after he was dead. But after his death there was not one commander among the Greeks that did any thing considerable against the barbarians, and instead of uniting against their common enemies, the popular leaders and partisans of war animated them against one another to such a degree, that none could interpose their good offices to reconcile them. And while, by their mutual discord, they ruined the power of Greece, they gave the Persians time to recover breath, and repair all their losses. It is true, indeed, Agesilaus carried the arms of Greece into Asia, but it was a long time afterward ; there were some brief appearances of a war against the king's lieutenants in the maritime provinces, but they all quickly vanished ; before he could perform any thing of moment, he was recalled by fresh civil dissensions and disturbances at home. So that he was forced to leave the Persian king's officers to impose what tribute they pleased on the Greek cities in Asia, the confederates and allies of the Lacedæmonians. Whereas, in the time of Cimon, not so much as a letter-carrier, or a single horseman, was ever seen to come within four hundred furlongs of the sea.

The monuments, called Cimonian to this day, in Athens, show that his remains were conveyed home, yet the inhabitants of the city Citium pay particular honor to a certain tomb which they call the tomb of

Cimon, according to Nausicrates the rhetorician, who states that in a time of famine, when the crops of their land all failed, they sent to the oracle, which commanded them not to forget Cimon, but give him the honors of a superior being.





## POMPEY.

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THE people of Rome appear, from the first, to have been affected towards Pompey, much in the same manner as Prometheus, in Æschylus, was towards Hercules, when after that hero had delivered him from his chains, he says—

The sire I hated, but the son I loved.

For never did the Romans entertain a stronger and more rancorous hatred for any general than for Strabo, the father of Pompey. While he lived, indeed, they were afraid of his abilities as a soldier, for he had great talents for war; but upon his death, which happened by a stroke of lightning, they dragged his corpse from the bier, on the way to the funeral pile, and treated it with the greatest indignity. On the other hand, no man ever experienced from the same Romans an attachment more early begun, more disinterested in all the stages of his prosperity, or more constant and faithful in the decline of his fortune, than Pompey.

The sole cause of their aversion to the father was his insatiable avarice; but there were many causes of



their affection for the son ; his temperate way of living, his application to martial exercises, his eloquent and persuasive address, his strict honor and fidelity, and the easiness of access to him upon all occasions ; for no man was ever less importunate in asking favors, or more gracious in conferring them. When he gave, it was without arrogance ; and when he received, it was with dignity.

In his youth he had a very engaging countenance, which spoke for him before he opened his lips. Yet that grace of aspect was not unattended with dignity, and amidst his youthful bloom there was a venerable and princely air. His hair naturally curled a little before ; which, together with the shining moisture and quick turn of his eye, produced a stronger likeness to Alexander the Great than that which appeared in the statues of that prince.

As to the simplicity of his diet, there is a remarkable saying of his upon record. In a great illness, when his appetite was almost gone, the physician ordered him a thrush. His servants, upon inquiry, found there was not one to be had for money, for the season was past. They were informed, however, that Lucullus had them all the year in his menageries. This being reported to Pompey, he said : " Does Pompey's life depend upon the luxury of Lucullus ? " Then, without any regard to the physician, he ate something that was easy to be had.

After the death of Cinna, Carbo, a tyrant still

more savage, took the reins of government. It was not long, however, before Sylla returned to Italy, to the great satisfaction of most of the Romans, who, in their present unhappy circumstances, thought the change of their master no small advantage.

Pompey, at the age of twenty-three, without a commission from any superior authority, erected himself into a general; and having placed his tribunal in the most public part of the great city of Auximum, enlisted soldiers and appointed tribunes, centurions, and other officers, according to the established custom. He did the same in all the neighboring cities; for the partisans of Carbo retired and gave place to him; and the rest were glad to range themselves under his banners. So that in a little time he raised three complete legions, and furnished himself with provisions, beasts of burden, carriages; in short, with the whole apparatus of war.

In this form he moved toward Sylla, not by hasty marches, nor as if he wanted to conceal himself; for he stopped by the way to harass the enemy, and attempted to draw off from Carbo all the parts of Italy through which he passed. At last, three generals of the opposite party, Carrina, Cœlius, and Brutus, came against him all at once, not in front, or in one body, but they hemmed him in with their three armies, in hopes to demolish him entirely.

Pompey, far from being terrified, assembled all his forces, and charged the army of Brutus at the head

of his cavalry. The Gaulish horse on the enemy's side sustained the first shock ; but Pompey attacked the foremost of them, who was a man of prodigious



Pompey.

strength, and brought him down with a push of his spear. The rest immediately fled and threw the infantry into such disorder that the whole was soon

put to flight. This produced so great a quarrel among the three generals, that they parted and took separate routes. In consequence of which, the cities, concluding that the fears of the enemy had made them part, adopted the interest of Pompey.

Not long after, Scipio the consul advanced to engage him. But before the infantry were near enough to discharge their lances, Scipio's soldiers saluted those of Pompey, and came over to them. Scipio, therefore, was forced to fly. At last, Carbo sent a large body of cavalry against Pompey, near the river Arsis. He gave them so warm a reception, that they were soon broken, and in the pursuit drove them upon impracticable ground; so that finding it impossible to escape, they surrendered themselves with their arms and horses.

Sylla had not yet been informed of these transactions; but upon the first news of Pompey's being engaged with so many adversaries, and such respectable generals, he dreaded the consequence, and marched with all expedition to his assistance. Pompey, having intelligence of his approach, ordered his officers to see that the troops were armed and drawn up in such a manner as to make the handsomest and most gallant appearance before the commander-in-chief. For he expected great honors from him, and he obtained greater. Sylla no sooner saw Pompey advancing to meet him, with an army in excellent condition, both as to age and size of the men, and

the spirits which success had given them, than he alighted; and upon being saluted of course by Pompey as *Imperator*, he returned his salutation with the same title: though no one imagined that he would have honored a young man not yet admitted into the senate with a title for which he was contending with the Scipios and the Marii. The rest of his behavior was as respectable as that in the first interview. He used to rise up and uncover his head whenever Pompey came to him; which he was rarely observed to do for any other, though he had a number of persons of distinction about him.

While Pompey was in Sicily, he received a decree of the senate, and letters from Sylla, in which he was commanded to cross over to Africa and to carry on the war with the utmost vigor against Domitius, who had assembled a much more powerful army than that which Marius carried not long before from Africa to Italy, when he made himself master of Rome, and from a fugitive became a tyrant. Pompey soon finished his preparations for this expedition; and leaving the command in Sicily to Memmius, his sister's husband, he set sail with one hundred and twenty armed vessels, and eight hundred store-ships, laden with provisions, arms, money, and machines of war. Part of his fleet landed at Utica, and part at Carthage: immediately after which seven thousand of the enemy came over to him; and he had brought with him six legions complete.

On his arrival he met with a whimsical adventure. Some of his soldiers, it seems, found a treasure, and the rest of the troops concluded that the place was full of money, which the Carthaginians had hid there in some time of public distress. Pompey, therefore, could make no use of them for several days, as they were searching for treasures; and he had nothing to do but walk about and amuse himself with the sight of so many thousands digging and turning up the ground. At last, they gave up the point and bade him lead them wherever he pleased, for they were sufficiently punished for their folly.

Domitius advanced to meet him, and put his troops in order of battle. There happened to be a channel between them, craggy and difficult to pass. Moreover, in the morning it began to rain, and the wind blew violently; insomuch that Domitius, not imagining there would be any action that day, ordered his army to retire. But Pompey looked upon this as his opportunity, and he passed the defile with the utmost expedition. The enemy stood upon their defence, but it was in a disorderly and tumultuous manner, and the resistance they made was neither general nor uniform. Besides, the wind and rain beat in their faces. The storm incommoded the Romans, too, for they could not well distinguish each other. Nay, Pompey himself was in danger of being killed by a soldier who asked him the password, and did not receive a speedy answer. At

length, however, he routed the enemy with great slaughter; not above three thousand of them escaping out of twenty thousand. The soldiers then saluted Pompey, *Imperator*, but he said he would not accept that title while the enemy's camp stood untouched; therefore, if they chose to confer such an honor upon him, they must first make themselves masters of the intrenchments.

At that instant they advanced with great fury against them. Pompey fought without his helmet, for fear of such an accident as he had just escaped. The camp was taken, and Domitius slain; in consequence of which most of the cities immediately submitted, and the rest were taken by assault. He took Iarbas, one of the confederates of Domitius, prisoner, and bestowed his crown on Hiempsal. Advancing with the same tide of fortune, and while his army had all the spirits inspired by success, he entered Numidia, in which he continued his march for several days, and subdued all that came in his way. Thus he revived the terror of the Roman name, which the barbarians had begun to disregard. Nay, he chose not to leave the savage beasts in the deserts without giving them a specimen of the Roman valor and success. Accordingly he spent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. The whole time he passed in Africa, they tell us, was not above forty days; in which he defeated the enemy, reduced the whole country, and brought the affairs of its kings under



proper regulations, though he was only in his twenty-fourth year.

Upon his return to Utica, he received letters from Sylla, in which he was ordered to send home the rest of his army, and to wait there with one legion only for a successor. This gave him a great deal of uneasiness, which he kept to himself, but the army expressed their indignation aloud; insomuch that when he entreated them to return to Italy, they launched out into abusive terms against Sylla, and declared they would never abandon Pompey, or suffer him to trust a tyrant. At first he endeavored to pacify them with mild representations; and when he found those had no effect, he descended from the tribunal and retired to his tent in tears. However, they went and took him thence, and placed him again upon the tribunal, where they spent a great part of the day; they insisting that he should stay and keep the command, and he persuading them to obey Sylla's orders, and to form no new faction. At last, seeing no end of their clamors and importunity, he assured them, with an oath, that he would kill himself, if they attempted to force him. And even this hardly brought them to desist

The first news that Sylla heard was that Pompey had revolted; upon which he said to his friends: "Then it is my fate to have to contend with boys in my old age." This he said, because Marius, who was very young, had brought him into so much trouble

and danger. But when he received true information of the affair, and observed that all the people flocked out to receive Pompey to conduct him home with marks of great regard, he resolved to exceed them in his regards, if possible. He, therefore, hastened to meet him, and embracing him in the most affectionate manner, saluted him aloud by the surname of *Magnus*, or *the Great*: at the same time he ordered all about him to give him the same appellation. Others say it was given him by the whole army in Africa, but did not generally obtain till it was authorized by Sylla. It is certain, he was the last to take it himself, and he did not make use of it till a long time after, when he was sent into Spain with the dignity of pro-consul against Sertorius. Then he began to write himself in his letters and in all his edicts, *Pompey the Great*; for the world was accustomed to the name, and it was no longer invidious. In this respect we may justly admire the wisdom of the ancient Romans, who bestowed on their great men such honorable names and titles, not only for military achievements, but for the great qualities and arts which adorn civil life.

When Pompey arrived at Rome, he demanded a triumph, in which he was opposed by Sylla. The latter alleged that the laws did not allow that honor to any person who was not either consul or prætor. Hence it was that the first Scipio, when he returned victorious from greater wars and conflicts with the

Carthaginians in Spain, did not demand a triumph; for he was neither consul or prætor. He added, that if Pompey, who was yet little better than a beardless youth, and who was not of age to be admitted into the senate, should enter the city in triumph, it would bring an *odium* both upon the dictator's power and those honors of his friend. These arguments Sylla insisted on, to show him that he would not allow of his triumph, and that, in case he persisted, he would chastise his obstinacy.

Pompey, not in the least intimidated, bade him consider, that more worshipped the rising than the setting sun; intimating that his power was increasing, and Sylla's upon the decline. Sylla did not hear well what he said, but perceiving by the looks and gestures of the company that they were struck with the expression, he asked what it was. When he was told it, he admired the spirit of Pompey and cried: "Let him triumph! Let him triumph!"

There is no doubt that he might have been easily admitted a senator, if he had desired it; but his ambition was to pursue honor in a more uncommon track. It would have been nothing strange, if Pompey had been a senator before the age fixed for it; but it was a very extraordinary instance of honor to lead up a triumph before he was a senator. And it contributed not a little to gain him the affections of the multitude; the people were delighted to see him, after his triumph, class with the equestrian order.

The power of the pirates had its foundation in Cilicia. Their progress was the more dangerous, because at first it was little taken notice of. In the Mithridatic war they assumed new confidence and courage, on account of some service they had rendered the king. After this, the Romans being engaged in civil wars at the very gates of their capital, the sea was left unguarded, and the pirates by degrees attempted higher things; they not only attacked ships, but islands, and maritime towns. Many persons, distinguished for their wealth, their birth, and their capacity, embarked with them, and assisted in their depredations, as if their employment had been worthy the ambition of men of honor. They had in various places arsenals, ports, and watch-towers, all strongly fortified. Their fleets were not only extremely well manned, supplied with skilful pilots, and fitted for their business by their lightness and celerity, but there was a parade of vanity about them more mortifying than their strength, in gilded sterns, purple canopies, and plated oars; as if they took a pride and triumphed in their villany. Music resounded and drunken revels were exhibited on every coast. Here generals were made prisoners; there the cities the pirates had taken were paying their ransom; all to the great disgrace of the Roman power. The number of their galleys amounted to one thousand, and the cities they were masters of to four hundred.

Temples which had stood inviolably sacred till that time, they plundered. They ruined the temple of Apollo at Claros, that of the Cabiri in Samothrace, of Ceres at Hermione, of Æsculapius at Epidaurus, those of Neptune in the Isthmus, at Tænarus and in Calauria, those of Apollo at Actium and in the isle of Leucas, those of Juno at Samos, Argos, and the promontory of Lacinium.

They likewise offered strange sacrifices—those of Olympus, I mean; and they celebrated certain secret mysteries, among which those of Mithra continue to this day, being originally instituted by them. They not only insulted the Romans at sea but infested the great roads, and plundered the villas near the coast; they carried off Sextilius and Bellinus, two prætors, in their purple robes, with all their servants and *lictors*. They seized the daughter of Antony, a man who had been honored with a triumph, as she was going to her country house, and he was forced to pay a large ransom for her.

But the most contemptible circumstance of all was, that when they had taken a prisoner, and he cried out that he was a Roman, and told them his name, they pretended to be struck with terror, smote their thighs, and fell upon their knees to ask him pardon. The poor man, seeing them thus humble themselves before him, thought them in earnest, and said he would forgive them; for some were so officious as to put on his shoes, and others

to help him on with his gown, that his quality might no more be mistaken. When they had carried on this farce, and enjoyed it for some time, they let a ladder down into the sea, and bade him go in peace; and if he refused to do it, they pushed him off the deck, and drowned him.

Their power extended over the whole Tuscan Sea, so that the Romans found their trade and navigation entirely cut off. The consequence of which was, that their markets were not supplied, and they had reason to apprehend a famine. This at last led them to send Pompey to clear the sea of pirates. Gabinius, one of Pompey's intimate friends, proposed the decree which created him not admiral, but monarch, and invested him with absolute power. The decree gave him the empire of the sea as far as the Pillars of Hercules, and of the land for four hundred furlongs from the coasts. There were few parts of the Roman Empire which this commission did not take in; and the most considerable of the barbarous nations, and most powerful kings, were moreover comprehended in it. Besides this he was empowered to choose out of the senators fifteen lieutenants, to act under him in such districts, and with such authority as he should appoint. He was to take from the quæstors, and other public receivers, what money he pleased, and equip a fleet of two hundred sail. The number of marine forces, of mariners and rowers, was left entirely to his discretion.

When this decree was read in the assembly, the people received it with inconceivable pleasure. The most respectable part of the senate saw, indeed, that such an absolute and unlimited power was above envy, but they considered it as a real object of fear. They therefore all, except Cæsar, opposed its passing into a law. He was for it, not out of regard for Pompey, but to insinuate himself into the good graces of the people, which he had long been courting. The rest were very severe in their expressions against Pompey: and one of the consuls venturing to say, "If he imitates Romulus, he will not escape his fate," was in danger of being pulled in pieces by the populace.

It is true, when Catulus rose up to speak against the law, out of reverence for his person they listened to him with great attention. After he had freely given Pompey the honor that was his due, and said much in his praise, he advised them to spare him, and not to expose such a man to so many dangers; "for where will you find another," said he, "if you lose him?" They answered with one voice, "Yourself." Finding his arguments had no effect, he retired. Then Rosicus mounted the rostrum, but not a man would give ear to him. However, he made signs to them with his fingers, that they should not appoint Pompey alone, but give him a colleague. Incensed at the proposal, they set up such a shout, that a crow, which was flying over the



*forum*, was stunned with the force of it, and fell down among the crowd. Hence we may conclude, that when birds fall on such occasions, it is not because the air is so divided with the shock as to leave a *vacuum*, but rather because the sound strikes them like a blow, when it ascends with force, and produces so violent an agitation.

The assembly broke up that day without coming to any resolution. When the day came that they were to give their suffrages, Pompey retired into the country; and, on receiving information that the decree was passed, he returned to the city by night, to prevent the envy which the multitudes of people coming to meet him would have excited. Next morning at break of day he made his appearance, and attended the sacrifice. After which, he summoned an assembly, and obtained a grant of almost as much more as the first decree had given him. He was empowered to fit out five hundred galleys, and to raise an army of one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. Twenty-four senators were selected, who had all been generals or prætors, and were appointed his lieutenants; and he had two quæstors given him. As the price of provisions fell immediately, the people were greatly pleased, and it gave them occasion to say that the very name of Pompey had terminated the war.

However, in pursuance of his charge, he divided the whole Mediterranean into thirteen parts, ap-

pointing a lieutenant for each, and assigning him a squadron. By thus stationing his fleet in all quarters, he inclosed the pirates as it were in a net, took great numbers of them, and brought them into harbor. Such of their vessels as had dispersed and made off in time, or could escape the general chase, retired to Cilicia, like so many bees into a hive. Against these he proposed to go himself, with sixty of his best galleys; but first he resolved to clear the Tuscan Sea, and the coasts of Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, of all piratical adventurers; which he effected in forty days by his own indefatigable endeavors and those of his lieutenants. But, as the consul Piso was indulging his malignity at home, in wasting his stores and discharging his seamen, he sent his fleet round to Brundisium, and went himself by land through Tuscany to Rome.

As soon as the people were informed of his approach, they went in crowds to receive him, in the same manner as they had done a few days before, to conduct him on his way. Their extraordinary joy was owing to the speed with which he had executed his commission, so far beyond all expectation, and to the superabundant plenty which reigned in the markets. For this reason Piso was in danger of being deposed from the consulship, and Gabinius had a decree ready drawn up for that purpose; but Pompey would not suffer him to propose it. On the contrary, his speech to the people was full of

candor and moderation ; and when he had provided such things as he wanted he went to Brundisium and put to sea again. Though he was straightened for time, and in his haste sailed by many cities without calling, yet he stopped at Athens. He entered the town and sacrificed to the gods ; after which he addressed the people, and then prepared to reembark immediately. As he went out of the gate he observed two inscriptions, each comprised in one line.

That within the gate was :

But know thyself a man, and be a god.

That without :

We wish'd, we saw ; we loved, and we adored.

Some of the pirates, who yet traversed the seas, made their submission ; and as he treated them in a humane manner, when he had them and their ships in his power, others entertained hopes of mercy, and avoiding the other officers, surrendered themselves to Pompey, together with their wives and children. He spared them all ; and it was principally by their means that he found out and took a number who were guilty of unpardonable crimes, and therefore had concealed themselves.

Still, however, there remained a great number, and indeed the most powerful part of these corsairs, who sent their families, treasures, and all useless

hands into castles and fortified towns upon Mount Taurus. Then they manned their ships and waited for Pompey at Coracesium, in Cilicia. A battle ensued, and the pirates were defeated ; after which they retired into the fort. But they had not been long besieged before they capitulated, and surrendered themselves, together with the cities and islands which they had conquered and fortified, and which by their works as well as situation were almost impregnable. Thus the war was finished and the whole force of the pirates destroyed within three months at the farthest.

Besides the other vessels, Pompey took ninety ships with beaks of brass ; and the prisoners amounted to twenty thousand. He did not choose to put them to death, and at the same time he thought it wrong to suffer them to disperse, because they were not only numerous but warlike and necessitous, and therefore would probably knit again and give future trouble. He reflected that man by nature is neither a savage nor an unsocial creature ; and when he becomes so, it is by vices contrary to nature ; yet even then he may be humanized by changing his place of abode, and accustoming him to a new manner of life ; as beasts that are naturally wild put off their fierceness when they are kept in a domestic way. For this reason he determined to remove the pirates to a great distance from the sea, and bring them to taste the sweets of civil life, by living in cities, and

by the culture of the ground. He placed some of them in the little towns of Cilicia, which were almost desolate, and which received them with pleasure, because at the same time he gave them an additional proportion of lands. He repaired the city of Soli, which had lately been dismantled and deprived of its inhabitants by Tigranes, King of Armenia, and peopled it with a number of these corsairs. The remainder, which was a considerable body, he planted in Dyma, a city of Achæa, which, though it had a large and fruitful territory, was in want of inhabitants.

Pompey, having secured the sea from Phœnicia to the Bosphorus, marched in quest of Mithridates, who had an army of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse, but durst not stand an engagement. That prince was in possession of a strong and secure post upon a mountain, which he quitted upon Pompey's approach, because it was destitute of water. Pompey encamped in the same place; and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and the crevices in the mountain, that springs might be found, he ordered a number of wells to be dug, and the camp was in a short time plentifully supplied with water. He was not a little surprised that this did not occur to Mithridates during the whole time of his encampment there.

After this Pompey followed him to his new camp, and drew a line of circumvallation round him. Mithridates stood a siege of forty-five days, after

which he found means to steal off with his best troops, having first killed all the sick, and such as could be of no service. Pompey overtook him near the Euphrates, and encamped over against him ; but fearing he might pass the river unperceived, he drew out his troops at midnight. At that time Mithridates is said to have had a dream prefigurative of what was to befall him. He thought he was upon the Pontic Sea, sailing with a favorable wind, and in sight of the Bosphorus ; so that he felicitated his friends in the ship, like a man perfectly safe and already in harbor. But suddenly he beheld himself in the most destitute condition, swimming upon a piece of wreck. While he was in all the agitation which this dream produced, his friends awaked him, and told him that Pompey was at hand. He was now under a necessity of fighting for his camp, and his generals drew up the forces with all possible expedition.

Pompey, seeing them prepared, was loth to risk a battle in the dark. He thought it sufficient to surround them, so as to prevent their flight ; and what inclined him still more to wait for daylight, was the consideration that his troops were much better than the enemy's. However, the oldest of his officers entreated him to proceed immediately to the attack, and at last prevailed. It was not indeed very dark ; for the moon, though near her setting, gave light enough to distinguish objects. But it was a great

disadvantage to the king's troops that the moon was so low, and on the backs of the Romans; because she projected their shadows so far before them, that the enemy could form no just estimate of the distances, but thinking them at hand, threw their javelins before they could do the least execution.

The Romans, perceiving their mistake, advanced to the charge with all the alarm of voices. The enemy were in such a consternation that they made not the least stand, and in their flight vast numbers were slain. They lost above ten thousand men, and their camp was taken. As for Mithridates, he broke through the Romans with eight hundred horse in the beginning of the engagement. That corps, however, did not follow him far before they dispersed, and left him with only three of his people.

The pursuit of Mithridates was attended with great difficulties; for he concealed himself among the nations settled about the Bosphorus and the Palus Mæotis. Besides, news was brought to Pompey that the Albanians had revolted, and taken up arms again. The desire of revenge determined him to march back, and chastise them. But it was with infinite trouble and danger that he passed the Cynus again, the barbarians having fenced it on their side with palisades all along the banks. And when he was over, he had a large country to traverse, which afforded no water. This last difficulty he provided against by filling ten thousand bottles; and



pursuing his march, he found the enemy drawn up on the banks of the river Abas, to the number of sixty thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, but many of them ill-armed, and provided with nothing of the defensive kind but skins of beasts.

They were commanded by the king's brother, named Cosis; who, at the beginning of the battle, singled out Pompey, and rushing in upon him, struck his javelin into the joints of his breastplate. Pompey in return run him through with his spear, and laid him dead on the spot. It is said that the Amazons came to the assistance of the barbarians from the mountains near the river Thermodon, and fought in this battle. The Romans, among the plunder of the field, did, indeed, meet with bucklers in the form of a half-moon, and such buskins as the Amazons wore; but there was not the body of a woman found among the dead. They inhabit that part of Mount Caucasus which stretches toward the Hyrcanian Sea, and are not next neighbors to the Albanians; for Gelæ and Leges lie between; but they meet that people, and spend two months with them every year on the banks of the Thermodon; after which they retire to their own country.

Pompey had advanced near to Petra, and encamped, and was taking some exercise on horseback without the trenches, when messengers arrived from Pontus; and it was plain they brought good news, because the points of their spears were crowned

with laurel. The soldiers seeing this, gathered about Pompey, who was inclined to finish his exercise before he opened the packet; but they were so earnest in their entreaties, that they prevailed upon him to alight and take it. He entered the camp with it in his hand; and as there was no tribunal ready, and the soldiers were too impatient to raise one of turf, which was the common method, they piled a number of pack-saddles one upon the other, upon which Pompey mounted, and gave them this information: "Mithridates is dead. He killed himself upon the revolt of his son Pharnaces. And Pharnaces has seized all that belonged to his father; which he declares he has done for himself and the Romans."

At this news the army, as might be expected, gave a loose rein to their joy, which they expressed in sacrifices to the gods, and in reciprocal entertainments, as if ten thousand of their enemies had been slain in Mithridates. Pompey having thus brought the campaign and the whole war to a conclusion so happy, and so far beyond his hopes, immediately quitted Arabia, traversed the provinces between that and Galatia with great rapidity, and soon arrived at Amisus. There he found many presents from Pharnaces, and several corpses of the royal family, among which was that of Mithridates. As for Pompey, he would not see the body, but to propitiate the avenging Nemesis, sent it to Sinope. However,

he looked upon and admired the magnificence of his habit, and the size and beauty of his arms. The scabbard of his sword cost four hundred talents, and the diadem was of most exquisite workmanship.

Pompey having thoroughly settled the affairs of Asia, hoped to return to Italy the greatest and happiest of men.

People talked variously at Rome concerning his intentions. Many disturbed themselves at the thought that he would march with his army immediately to Rome and make himself sole and absolute master there. Crassus took his children and money, and withdrew; whether it was that he had some real apprehensions, or rather that he chose to countenance the calumny, and add force to the sting of envy; the latter seems the more probable. But Pompey had no sooner set foot in Italy, than he called an assembly of his soldiers, and, after a kind and suitable address, ordered them to disperse in their respective cities, and attend to their own affairs till his triumph, on which occasion they were to repair to him again.

Pompey's triumph was so great, that though it was divided into two days, the time was far from being sufficient for displaying what was prepared to be carried in procession; there remained still enough to adorn another triumph. At the head of the show appeared the titles of the conquered nations: Pontus,

Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, the Albanians, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Palestine, Judæa, Arabia, the pirates subdued both by sea and land. In these countries, it was mentioned that there were not less than one thousand castles and nine hundred cities captured, eight hundred galleys taken from the pirates, and thirty-nine desolate cities repeopled. On the face of the tablets it appeared besides, that whereas the revenues of the Roman empire before these conquests amounted to but fifty million *drachmas*, by the new acquisitions they were advanced to eighty-five million; and that Pompey had brought into the public treasury in money, and in gold and silver vessels, the value of twenty thousand talents, besides what he had distributed among the soldiers, of whom he that received least had fifteen hundred drachmas to his share. The captives who walked in the procession (not to mention the chiefs of the pirates) were the son of Tigranes, King of Armenia, together with his wife and daughter; Zosima, the wife of Tigranes himself; Aristobulus, King of Judæa; the sister of Mithridates, with her five sons, and some Scythian women. The hostages of the Albanians and Iberians, and of the king of Commagene also appeared in the train; and as many trophies were exhibited as Pompey had gained victories, either in person or by his lieutenants, the number of which was not small.

But the most honorable circumstance, and what no

other Roman could boast, was that his third triumph was over the third quarter of the world, after his former triumphs had been over the other two. Others before him had been honored with three triumphs; but his first triumph was over Africa, his second over Europe, and his third over Asia; so that the three seemed to declare him conqueror of the world.

Those who desire to make the parallel between him and Alexander agree in all respects, tell us he was at this time not quite thirty-four, whereas, in fact, he was entering upon his fortieth year.<sup>1</sup> Happy it had been for him, if he had ended his days while he was blessed with Alexander's good fortune! The rest of his life, every instance of success brought its proportion of envy, and every misfortune was irretrievable.

In the meantime the wars in Gaul lifted Cæsar to the first sphere of greatness. The scene of action was at a great distance from Rome, and he seemed to be wholly engaged with the Belgæ, the Suevi, and the Britons; but his genius all the while was privately at work among the people of Rome, and he was undermining Pompey in his most essential interests. His war with the barbarians was not his principal object. He exercised his army, indeed, in those

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<sup>1</sup> It should be the forty-sixth year. Pompey was born in the beginning of the month of August, in the year of Rome 647, and his triumph was in the same month in the year of Rome 692.

expeditions, as he would have done his own body, in hunting and other diversions of the field, by which he prepared them for higher conflicts, and rendered them not only formidable but invincible.

The gold and silver and other rich spoils which he took from the enemy in great abundance, he sent to Rome ; and by distributing them freely among the ædiles, prætors, consuls, and their wives, he gained a great party. Consequently when he passed the Alps and wintered at Lucca, among the crowd of men and women, who hastened to pay their respects to him, there were two hundred senators, Pompey and Crassus of the number ; and there were no fewer than one hundred and twenty proconsuls and prætors, whose *fascēs* were to be seen at the gates of Cæsar. He made it his business in general to give them hopes of great things, and his money was at their devotion ; but he entered into a treaty with Crassus and Pompey, by which it was agreed that they should apply for the consulship, and that Cæsar should assist them, by sending a great number of his soldiers to vote at the election. As soon as they were chosen, they were to share the provinces, and take the command of armies, according to their pleasure, only confirming Cæsar in the possession of what he had for five years more.

Crassus, upon the expiration of his consulship, repaired to his province. Pompey remaining at Rome, opened his theatre ; and to make the dedica-

tion more magnificent, exhibited a variety of gymnastic games, entertainments of music, and battles with wild beasts, in which were killed five hundred lions ; but the battle of elephants afforded the most astonishing spectacle.<sup>1</sup> These things gained him the love and admiration of the public ; but he incurred their displeasure again, by leaving his provinces and armies entirely to his friends and lieutenants, and roving about Italy with his wife from one villa to another. The strong attachment of Julia appeared on the occasion of an election of ædiles. The people came to blows, and some were killed so near Pompey that he was covered with blood, and forced to change his clothes. There was a great crowd and tumult about his door, when his servants went home with a bloody robe ; and Julia, happening to see it, fainted away and was with difficulty restored. Shortly after Julia died, and the alliance which had rather covered than restrained the ambition of the two great competitors for power was now no more. To add to the misfortune, news was brought soon after that Crassus was slain by the Parthians ; and in him another great obstacle to a civil war was removed. Out of fear of him, they had both kept some measures with each other. But when fortune

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<sup>1</sup> Dio says the elephants fought with armed men. There were no less than eighteen of them ; and he adds, that some of them seemed to appeal, with piteous cries to the people ; who, in compassion, saved their lives. If we may believe him, an oath had been taken before they left Africa, that no injury should be done them.



had carried off the champion who could take up the conqueror, we may say with the comic poet—

High spirits of emprise  
Elates each chief ; they oil their brawny limbs,  
And dip their hands in dust.

So little able is fortune to fill the capacities of the human mind, when such a weight of power and extent of command could not satisfy the ambition of two men. They had heard and read that the gods had divided the universe into three shares,<sup>1</sup> and each was content with that which fell to his lot, and yet these men could not think the Roman Empire sufficient for two of them. Such anarchy and confusion took place that numbers began to talk boldly of setting up a dictator. Cato, now fearing he should be overborne, was of opinion that it were better to give Pompey some office whose authority was limited by law, than to intrust him with absolute power. Bibulus, though Pompey's declared enemy, moved in full senate, that he should be appointed sole consul. "For by that means," said he, "the

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<sup>1</sup> Plutarch alludes here to a passage in the fifteenth book of the *Iliad*, where Neptune says to Iris :—

Assign'd by lot our triple rule we know ;  
Infernal Pluto sways the shades below ;  
O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the starry plain,  
Ethereal Jove extends his high domain ;  
My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,  
And hush the roarings of the sacred deep.

commonwealth will either recover from her disorder, or, if she must serve, will serve a man of the greatest merit." The whole house was surprised at the motion; and when Cato rose up, it was expected he would oppose it. A profound silence ensued, and he said, he should never have been the first to propose such an expedient, but as it was proposed by another, he thought it advisable to embrace it; for he thought any kind of government better than anarchy, and knew no man fitter to rule than Pompey, in a time of so much trouble. The senate came into his opinion, and a decree was issued, that Pompey should be appointed sole consul, and that if he should have need of a colleague, he might choose one himself, provided it were not before the expiration of two months.

Pompey being declared sole consul by the *Interrex* Sulpitius, made his compliments to Cato, acknowledged himself much indebted to his support, and desired his advice and assistance in the cabinet, as to the measures to be pursued in his administration. Cato made answer, that Pompey was not under the least obligation to him; for what he had said was not out of regard to him, but to his country. "If you apply to me," continued he, "I shall give you my advice in private; if not, I shall inform you of my sentiments in public." Such was Cato, and the same on all occasions.

Pompey then went into the city, and married Cor-



COIFFURES OF ROMAN LADIES.

nelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio. She was a widow, having been married, when very young, to Publius the son of Crassus, who was lately killed in the Parthian expedition. This woman had many charms beside her beauty. She was well versed in polite literature; she played upon the lyre, and understood geometry; and she had made considerable improvements by the precepts of philosophy. What is more, she had nothing of that petulance and affectation which such studies are apt to produce in women of her age. And her father's family and reputation were unexceptionable.

Pompey's confidence made him so extremely negligent, that he laughed at those who seemed to fear the war. And when they said if Cæsar should advance in a hostile manner to Rome, they did not see what forces they had to oppose him, he bade them, with an open and smiling countenance, give themselves no pain: "For, if in Italy," said he, "I do but stamp upon the ground, an army will appear."

Meantime Cæsar was exerting himself greatly. He was now at no great distance from Italy, and not only sent his soldiers to vote in the elections, but by private pecuniary applications, corrupted many of the magistrates. Paulus the consul was of the number, and he had one thousand five hundred talents for changing sides. So also was Curio, one of the tribunes of the people, for whom he paid off an im-

mense debt, and Mark Antony, who, out of friendship for Curio, had stood engaged with him for the debt.

It is said, that when one of Cæsar's officers, who stood before the senate-house, waiting the issue of the debates, was informed that they would not give Cæsar a longer term in his command, he laid his hand on his sword, and said: "But this shall give it." Indeed, all the preparations of his general tended that way; though Curio's demands in behalf of Cæsar seemed more plausible. He proposed, that either Pompey should likewise be obliged to dismiss his forces, or Cæsar suffered to keep his. "If they are both reduced to a private station," said he, "they will agree upon reasonable terms; or, if each retains his respective power, they will be satisfied. But he who weakens the one, without doing the same by the other, must double that force which he fears will subvert the government."

But now news was brought that Cæsar was marching directly towards Rome with all his forces. The last circumstance, indeed, was not true. He advanced with only three hundred horse and five thousand foot; the rest of his forces were on the other side of the Alps, and he would not wait for them, choosing rather to put his adversaries in confusion by a sudden and unexpected attack, than to fight them when better prepared. When he came to the river Rubicon, which was the boundary of his prov-

ince, he stood silent a long time, weighing with himself the greatness of his enterprise. At last, like one who plunges down from the top of a precipice into a gulf of immense depth, he silenced his reason, and shut his eyes against the danger; and crying out in the Greek language, "The die is cast," he marched over with his army.

Upon the first report of this at Rome, the city was in greater disorder and astonishment than had ever been known.

All Italy was in motion, with the stir of the coming storm. Those who lived out of Rome fled to it from all quarters, and those who lived in it abandoned it as fast. These saw, that in a tempestuous and disorderly state of affairs, the well-disposed part of the city wanted strength, and the ill-disposed were so refractory that they could not be managed by the magistrates. The terrors of the people could not be removed, and no one would suffer Pompey to lay a plan of action for himself. According to the passion wherewith each was actuated, whether fear, sorrow, or doubt, they endeavored to inspire him with the same; insomuch that he adopted different measures the same day. He could gain no certain intelligence of the enemy's motions, because every man brought him the report he happened to take up, and was angry if it did not meet with credit.

Pompey at last caused it to be declared by a formal edict, that the commonwealth was in danger,

and no peace was to be expected. After which, he signified that he should look upon those who remained in the city as the partisans of Cæsar; and then quitted it in the dusk of the evening. The consuls also fled, without offering the sacrifices which their customs required before a war. However, in this great extremity, Pompey could not but be considered as happy in the affections of his countrymen. Though many blamed the war, there was not a man who hated the general. Nay, the number of those who followed him, out of attachment to his person, was greater than that of the adventurers in the cause of liberty.

A few days after, Cæsar arrived at Rome. When he was in possession of the city, he behaved with great moderation in many respects, and composed in a good measure the minds of its remaining inhabitants.

Pompey, who was the master of Brundisium, and had a sufficient number of transports, desired the consuls to embark without loss of time, and sent them before him with thirty cohorts to Dyrrhachium. But at the same time he sent his father-in-law Scipio and his son Cnæus into Syria, to provide ships of war. He had well secured the gates of the city, and planted the lightest of his slingers and archers upon the walls; and having now ordered the Brundisians to keep within doors, he caused a number of trenches to be cut, and sharp stakes to be driven into them,



and then covered with earth, in all the streets, except two which led down to the sea. In three days all his other troops were embarked without interruption; and then he suddenly gave the signal to those who guarded the walls; in consequence of which, they ran swiftly down to the harbor and got on board. Thus having his whole complement, he set sail, and crossed the sea to Dyrrhachium.

When Cæsar came and saw the walls left destitute of defence, he concluded that Pompey had taken to flight, and in his eagerness to pursue, would certainly have fallen upon the sharp stakes in the trenches, had not the Brundusians informed him of them. He then avoided the streets, and took a circuit round the town, by which he discovered that all the vessels had weighed anchor, except two that had not many soldiers aboard.

This manœuvre of Pompey was commonly reckoned among the greatest acts of generalship. Cæsar, however, could not help wondering, that his adversary, who was in possession of a fortified town, and expected his forces from Spain, and at the same time was master of the sea, should give up Italy in such a manner.

Cæsar thus made himself master of all Italy in sixty days without the least bloodshed, and he would have been glad to have gone immediately in pursuit of Pompey. But as he was in want of shipping, he gave up that design for the present, and marched

to Spain, with an intent to gain Pompey's forces there.

In the meantime Pompey assembled a great army ; and at sea he was altogether invincible. For he had five hundred ships of war, and the number of his lighter vessels was still greater. As for his land forces, he had seven thousand horse, the flower of Rome and Italy, all men of family, fortune, and courage. His infantry, though numerous, was a mixture of raw, undisciplined soldiers ; he therefore exercised them during his stay at Berœa, where he was by no means idle, but went through the exercises of a soldier, as if he had been in the flower of his age. It inspired his troops with new courage, when they saw Pompey the Great, at the age of fifty-eight, going through the whole military discipline, in heavy armor, on foot ; and then mounting his horse, drawing his sword with ease when at full speed, and as dexterously sheathing it again. As to the javelin, he threw it not only with great exactness, but with such force that few of the young men could dart it to a greater distance.

Many kings and princes repaired to his camp ; and the number of Roman officers who had commanded armies was so great, that it was sufficient to make up a complete senate. Labienus, who had been honored with Cæsar's friendship, and served under him in Gaul, now joined Pompey.

Cæsar had now made himself master of Pompey's

forces in Spain, and though it was not without a battle, he dismissed the officers, and incorporated the troops with his own. After this, he passed the Alps again, and marched through Italy to Brundisium, where he arrived at the time of the winter solstice. There he crossed the sea, and landed at Oricum; from whence he dispatched Vibullius, one of Pompey's friends, whom he had brought prisoner thither, with proposals of a conference between him and Pompey, in which they should agree to disband their armies within three days, renew their friendship, confirm it with solemn oath, and then both return to Italy.

Pompey took this overture for another snare, and therefore drew down in haste to the sea, and secured all the forts and places of strength for land forces, as well as all the ports and other commodious stations for shipping; so that there was not a wind that blew which did not bring him either provisions, or troops, or money. On the other hand, Cæsar was reduced to such straits, both by sea and land, that he was under the necessity of seeking a battle. Accordingly, he attacked Pompey's intrenchments, and bade him defiance daily. In most of these attacks and skirmishes he had the advantage; but one day was in danger of losing his whole army. Pompey fought with so much valor that he put Cæsar's whole detachment to flight, after having killed two thousand men upon the spot; but was either unable or afraid to pursue his blow, and enter their camp with them.

Cæsar said to his friends on this occasion : “ This day the victory had been the enemy’s had their general known how to conquer.”

Pompey’s troops, elated with this success, were in great haste to come to a decisive battle. Nay, Pompey himself seemed to give in to their opinions by writing to the kings, the generals, and cities, in his interest, in the style of a conqueror. Yet all this while he dreaded the issue of a general action, believing it much better, by length of time, by famine and fatigue, to tire out men who had been ever invincible in arms, and long accustomed to conquer when they fought together. Besides, he knew the infirmities of age had made them unfit for the other operations of war, for long marches and counter-marches, for digging trenches and building forts, and that, therefore, they wished for nothing so much as a battle. Pompey, with all these arguments, found it no easy matter to keep his army quiet.

After this last engagement, Cæsar was in such want of provisions, that he was forced to decamp, and he took his way through Athamania into Thesaly. This added so much to the high opinion Pompey’s soldiers had of themselves, that it was impossible to keep them within bounds. They cried out with one voice : “ Cæsar is fled.” Some called upon the general to pursue ; some to pass over into Italy. Others sent their friends and servants to Rome, to engage houses near the *forum*, for the con-

venience of soliciting the great offices of state. And not a few went of their own accord to Cornelia, who had been privately lodged in Lesbos, to congratulate her upon the conclusion of the war.

While he thus softly followed the enemy's steps, a complaint was raised against him, and urged with much clamor, that he was not exercising his generalship upon Cæsar, but upon the senate and the whole commonwealth, in order that he might forever keep the command in his hands, and have those for his guards and servants who had a right to govern the world. Domitius Ænobarbus, to increase the *odium*, always called him Agamemnon, or king of kings. Favonius piqued him no less with a jest than others by their unseasonable severity; he went about crying: "My friends, we shall eat no figs in Tusculum this year."

These and many other like sallies of ridicule had such an effect upon Pompey, who was ambitious of being spoken well of by the world, and had too much deference for the opinions of his friends, that he gave up his own better judgment to follow them in the career of their false hopes and prospects. A thing which would have been unpardonable in the pilot or master of a ship, much more in the commander-in-chief of so many nations and such numerous armies. He had often commended the physician who gives no indulgence to the whimsical longings of his patients, and yet he humored the sickly crav-

ings of his army, and was afraid to give them pain, though necessary for the preservation of their life and being. For who can say that army was in a sound and healthy state, when some of the officers went about the camp canvassing for the offices of consul and prætor; and others, namely, Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio, were engaged in quarrels and cabals about Cæsar's high-priesthood, as if their adversary had been only a Tigranes, a king of Armenia, or a prince of the Nabathæans; and not that Cæsar and that army who had stormed one thousand cities, subdued above three hundred nations, gained numberless battles of the Germans and Gauls, taken one million prisoners, and killed as many fairly in the field. Notwithstanding all this, they continued loud and tumultuous in their demands of a battle; and when they came to the plains of Pharsalia, forced Pompey to call a council of war. Labienus, who had the command of the cavalry, rose up first, and took an oath that he would not return from the battle, till he had put the enemy to flight. All the other officers swore the same.

The night following, Pompey had this dream. He thought he entered his own theatre, and was received with loud plaudits; after which, he adorned the temple of Venus *the Victorious* with many spoils. This vision, on one side, encouraged him, and on the other alarmed him. He was afraid that Cæsar, who was a descendant of Venus, would be aggrandized

at his expense. Besides, a panic<sup>1</sup> fear ran through the camp, the noise of which awakened him. And about the morning watch, over Cæsar's camp, where every thing was perfectly quiet, there suddenly appeared a great light, from which a stream of fire issued in the form of a torch, and fell upon that of Pompey. Cæsar himself says he saw it as he was going his rounds.

Cæsar was preparing, at break of day, to march to Scotusa; his soldiers were striking their tents, and the servants and beasts of burden were already in motion, when his scouts brought intelligence that they had seen arms handed about in the enemy's camp, and perceived a noise and bustle, which indicated an approaching battle. After these, others came and assured him that the first ranks were drawn up.

Upon this Cæsar said: "The long-wished day is come, on which we shall fight with men, and not with want and famine." Then he immediately ordered the red mantle to be put up before his pavilion, which, among the Romans, is the signal of a battle. The soldiers no sooner beheld it, than they left their tents as they were, and ran to arms with loud shouts, and every expression of joy. And when the officers began to put them in order of battle, each man fell into his proper rank as quietly, and with as much skill and ease as a *chorus* in a tragedy.

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<sup>1</sup> A *Panic* was so called from the terror which the god *Pan* is said to have struck the enemies of Greece with at the battle of Marathon.



Pompey placed himself in his right wing over against Antony, and his father-in-law, Scipio, in the centre, opposite Domitius Calvinus. His left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and supported by the cavalry; for they were almost all ranged on that side, in order to break in upon Cæsar, and cut off the tenth legion, which was accounted the bravest in his army, and in which he used to fight in person. Cæsar, seeing the enemy's left wing so well guarded with horse, and fearing the excellence of their armor, sent for a detachment of six cohorts from the body of the reserve, and placed them behind the tenth legion, with orders not to stir before the attack, lest they should be discovered by the enemy; but when the enemy's cavalry had charged, to make up through the foremost ranks, and then not to discharge their javelins at a distance, as brave men generally do in their eagerness to come to sword in hand, but to reserve them till they came to close fighting, and to push them forward into the eyes and faces of the enemy. "For those fair young dancers," said he, "will never stand the steel aimed at their eyes, but will fly to save their handsome faces."

While Cæsar was thus employed, Pompey took a view on horseback of the order of both armies; and finding that the enemy kept their ranks with the utmost exactness, and quietly waited for the signal of battle, while his own men, for want of experience, were fluctuating and unsteady, he was afraid they

would be broken up on the first onset. He therefore commanded the vanguard to stand firm in their ranks, and in that close order to receive the enemy's charge. Cæsar condemned this measure, as not only tending to lessen the vigor of the blows, which is always greatest in the assailants, but also to damp the fire and spirit of the men; whereas those who advance with impetuosity, and animate each other with shouts, are filled with an enthusiastic valor and superior ardor.

Cæsar's army consisted of twenty-two thousand men, and Pompey's was something more than twice that number. When the signal was given on both sides, and the trumpets sounded a charge, each common man attended only to his own concern. But some of the principal Romans and Greeks, who only stood and looked on, when the dreadful moment of action approached, could not help considering to what the avarice and ambition of two men had brought the Roman Empire. The same arms on both sides, the troops marshalled in the same manner, the same standards; in short, the strength and flower of one and the same city turned upon itself! What could be a stronger proof of the blindness and infatuation of human nature, when carried away by its passions! Had they been willing to enjoy the fruits of their labors in peace and tranquillity, the greatest and best part of the world was their own. Or, if they must have indulged their thirst of victories and triumphs,

the Parthians and Germans were yet to be subdued ; Scythia and India yet remained ; together with a very plausible color for their lust of new acquisitions, the pretence of civilizing barbarians. And what Scythian horse, what Parthian arrows, what Indian treasures could have resisted seventy thousand Romans, led on by Pompey and Cæsar, with whose names those nations had long been acquainted ! Into such a variety of wild and savage countries had these two generals carried their victorious arms ! Whereas now they stood threatening each other with destruction ; not sparing even their own glory, though to it they sacrificed their country, but prepared, one of them, to lose the reputation of being invincible, which hitherto they had both maintained. So that the alliance which they had contracted by Pompey's marriage to Julia, was from the first only an artful expedient ; and her charms were to form a self-interested compact, instead of being the pledge of a sincere friendship.

The plain of Pharsalia was now covered with men and horses and arms ; and the signal of battle being given on both sides, the first on Cæsar's side who advanced to the charge was Caius Crastinus, who commanded a corps of one hundred and twenty men, and was determined to make good his promise to his general. He was the first man Cæsar saw when he went out of the trenches in the morning ; and upon Cæsar's asking him what he thought of the battle,

he stretched out his hand, and answered in a cheerful tone: "You will gain a glorious victory, and I shall have your praise this day, either alive or dead." In pursuance of this promise, he advanced the foremost, and many following to support him, he charged into the midst of the enemy. They soon took to their swords, and numbers were slain; but as Crastinus was making his way forward, and cutting down all before him, one of Pompey's men stood to receive him, and pushed his sword in at his mouth with such force, that it went through the nape of his neck. Crastinus thus killed, the fight was maintained with equal advantage on both sides.

Pompey did not immediately lead on his right wing, but often directed his eyes to the left, and lost time in waiting to see what execution his cavalry would do there. Meanwhile they had extended their squadrons to surround Cæsar, and prepared to drive the few horse he had placed in front back upon the foot. At that instant Cæsar gave the signal; upon which his cavalry retreated a little; and the six cohorts, which consisted of three thousand men, and had been placed behind the tenth legion, advanced to surround Pompey's cavalry; and coming close up to them, raised the points of their javelins, as they had been taught, and aimed them at the face. Their adversaries, who were not experienced in any kind of fighting, and had not the least previous idea of this, could not parry or endure the blows upon their faces,

but turned their backs, or covered their eyes with their hands, and soon fled with great dishonor. Cæsar's men took no care to pursue them, but turned their force upon the enemy's infantry, particularly upon that wing which, now stripped of its horse, lay open to the attack on all sides. The six cohorts, therefore, took them in flank, while the tenth legion charged them in front; and they, who had hoped to surround the enemy, and now, instead of that, saw themselves surrounded, made but a short resistance, and then took to a precipitate flight.

By the great dust that was raised, Pompey conjectured the fate of his cavalry; and it is hard to say what passed in his mind at that moment. He appeared like a man moonstruck and distracted; and without considering that he was Pompey the Great, or speaking to any one, he quitted the ranks, and retired step by step toward his camp—a scene which cannot be better painted than in these verses of Homer:<sup>1</sup>

But partial Jove, espousing Hector's part,  
Shot heaven-bred horror through the Grecian's heart;  
Confused, unnerv'd in Hector's presence grown,  
Amazed he stood with terrors not his own.  
O'er his broad back his moony shield he threw,  
And, glaring round, by tardy steps withdrew.

In this condition he entered his tent, where he sat down, and uttered not a word, till at last, upon find-

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<sup>1</sup> In the eleventh book of the *Iliad*, where he is speaking of the flight of Ajax before Hector.

ing that some of the enemy entered the camp with the fugitives, he said : " What ! into my camp too ! " After this short exclamation, he rose up, and dressing himself in a manner suitable to his fortune, privately withdrew. All the other legions fled ; and a great slaughter was made in the camp, of the servants and others who had the care of the tents. But Asinius Pollio, who then fought on Cæsar's side, assures us, that of the regular troops there were not above six thousand men killed.<sup>1</sup>

Upon the taking of the camp, there was a spectacle which showed, in strong colors, the vanity and folly of Pompey's troops. All the tents were crowned with myrtle ; the beds were strewed with flowers ; the tables covered with cups, and the bowls of wine set out. In short, every thing had the appearance of preparations for feasts and sacrifices, rather than for men going out to battle. To such a degree had their vain hopes corrupted them, and with such a senseless confidence they took to the field !

When Pompey had got at a little distance from the camp, he quitted his horse. He had very few people about him ; and as he saw he was not pursued, he went softly on, wrapped up in such thoughts as we may suppose a man to have, who had been used for thirty-four years to conquer and carry all before

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<sup>1</sup> Cæsar says that in all there were fifteen thousand killed, and twenty-four thousand taken prisoners.

him, and now in his old age first came to know what it was to be defeated and to fly. We may easily conjecture what his thoughts must be, when in one short hour he had lost the glory and the power which had been growing up amidst so many wars and conflicts ; and he who was lately guarded with such armies of horse and foot, and such great and powerful fleets, was reduced to so mean and contemptible an equipage, that his enemies, who were in search of him, could not know him.

He passed by Larissa, and came to Tempe, where, burning with thirst, he threw himself upon his face, and drank out of the river ; after which he passed through the valley, and went down to the sea-coast. There he spent the remainder of the night in a poor fisherman's cabin. Next morning, about break of day, he went on board a small river boat, taking with him such of his company as were freemen. The slaves he dismissed, bidding them go to Cæsar and fear nothing.

As he was coasting along, he saw a ship of burden just ready to sail ; the master of which was Peticius, a Roman citizen, who, though not acquainted with Pompey, knew him by sight. Therefore, without waiting for any further application, he took him up, and such of his companions as he thought proper, and then hoisted sail. The persons Pompey took with him were the two Lentuli and Favonius ; and a little after, they saw King Deiotarus beckoning to



them with great earnestness from the shore, and took him up likewise. The master of the ship provided them with the best supper he could, and when it was almost ready, Pompey, for want of a servant, was going to wash himself, but Favonius, seeing it, stepped up, and both washed and anointed him. All the time he was on board, he continued to wait upon him in all the offices of a servant, even to the washing of his feet and providing his supper; insomuch that one who saw the unaffected simplicity and sincere attachment with which Favonius performed these offices, cried out—

The generous mind adds dignity  
To every act, and nothing misbecomes it.

Pompey, in the course of his voyage, sailed by Amphipolis, and from thence steered for Mitylene, to take up Cornelia and his son. As soon as he reached the island, he sent a messenger to the town with news far different from what Cornelia expected. For, by the flattering accounts which many officious persons had given her, she understood that the dispute was decided at Dyrrhachium, and that nothing but the pursuit of Cæsar remained to be attended to. The messenger, finding her possessed of such hopes, had not power to make the usual salutations; but expressing the greatness of Pompey's misfortunes by his tears rather than words, only told her she must make haste if she had a mind to see Pompey with one ship only, and that not his own.

At this news Cornelia threw herself upon the ground, where she lay a long time insensible and speechless. At last, coming to herself, she perceived there was no time to be lost in tears and lamentations, and therefore hastened through the town to the sea. Pompey ran to meet her, and received her to his arms as she was just going to fall. While she hung upon his neck, she thus addressed him : “ I see, my dear husband, your present unhappy condition is the effect of my ill-fortune, and not yours. Alas ! how are you reduced to one poor vessel, who before your marriage with Cornelia, traversed the sea with five hundred galleys ! Why did you come to see me, and not rather leave me to my evil destiny, who have loaded you, too, with such a weight of calamities ? How happy had it been for me to have died before I heard that Publius, my first husband, was killed by the Parthians ! How wise, had I followed him to the grave, as I once intended ! What have I lived for since, but to bring misfortunes upon Pompey the Great ? ”

Such, we are assured, was the speech of Cornelia ; and Pompey answered : “ Till this moment, Cornelia, you have experienced nothing but the smiles of Fortune ; and it was she who deceived you, because she stayed with me longer than she commonly does with her favorites. But, fated as we are, we must bear this reverse, and make another trial of her. For it is no more improbable that we may emerge from this

poor condition and rise to great things again, than it was that we should fall from great things into this poor condition."

Cornelia then sent to the city for her most valuable movables and her servants.

As soon as his wife and his friends were embarked, he set sail, and continued his course without touching at any port, except for water and provisions, till he came to Attalia, a city of Pamphylia. There he was joined by some Cilician galleys; and besides picking up a number of soldiers, he found in a little time sixty senators about him. When he was informed that his fleet was still entire, and that Cato was gone to Africa with a considerable body of men which he had collected after their flight, he lamented to his friends his great error, in suffering himself to be forced into an engagement on land, and making no use of those forces in which he was confessedly stronger; nor even taking care to fight near his fleet, that, in case of his meeting with a check on land, he might have been supplied from the sea with another army, capable of making head against the enemy. Indeed, we find no greater mistake in Pompey's whole conduct, nor a more remarkable instance of Cæsar's generalship, than in removing the scene of action to such a distance from the naval force.

However, as it was necessary to undertake something with the small means he had left, he sent to some cities, and sailed to others himself, to raise

money, and to get a supply of men for his ships. But knowing the extraordinary celerity of the enemy's motions, he was afraid he might be beforehand with him, and seize all that he was preparing. He, therefore, began to think of retiring to some asylum, and proposed the matter in council. They could not think of any province in the Roman Empire that would afford a safe retreat; and when they cast their eyes on the foreign kingdoms, Pompey mentioned Parthia as the most likely to receive and protect them in their present weak condition, and afterwards to send them back with a force sufficient to retrieve their affairs. Others were of opinion it was proper to apply to Africa, and to Juba in particular. But Theophanes of Lesbos observed it was madness to leave Egypt, which was distant but three days' sail. Besides, Ptolemy, who was growing towards manhood, had particular obligations to Pompey on his father's account. And so it was determined that they should seek for refuge in Egypt. Being informed that Ptolemy was with his army at Pelusium, where he was engaged in war with his sister, he proceeded thither, and sent a messenger before him to announce his arrival, and to entreat the king's protection.

Ptolemy was very young, fourteen years of age, and Photinus, his prime-minister, called a council of his ablest officers; though their advice had no more weight than he was pleased to allow it. He ordered

each, however, to give his opinion. But who can, without indignation, consider that the fate of Pompey the Great was to be determined by the wretch Photinus, by Theodotus, a man of Chios, who was hired to teach the prince rhetoric, and by Achillas, an Egyptian? For among the king's chamberlains and tutors these had the greatest influence over him and were the persons he most consulted. Pompey lay at anchor at some distance from the place waiting the determination of this respectable board; while he thought it beneath him to be indebted to Cæsar for his safety. The council were divided in their opinions, some advising the prince to give him an honorable reception, and others to send him an order to depart. But Theodotus, to display his eloquence, insisted that both were wrong. "If you receive him," said he, "you will have Cæsar for your enemy, and Pompey for your master. If you order him off, Pompey may one day revenge the affront and Cæsar resent your not having put him in his hands. The best method, therefore, is to send for him and put him to death. By this means you will do Cæsar a favor, and have nothing to fear from Pompey." He added with a smile: "Dead men do not bite."

This advice being approved of, the execution of it was committed to Achillas. In consequence of which he took with him Septimius, who had formerly been one of Pompey's officers, and Salvius, who had

also acted under him as a centurion, with three or four assistants, and made up to Pompey's ship, where his principal friends and officers had assembled to see how the affair went on. When they perceived there was nothing magnificent in their reception, nor suitable to the hopes which Theophanes had conceived, but that a few men only in a fishing-boat came to wait upon them, such want of respect appeared a suspicious circumstance; and they advised Pompey, while he was out of the reach of missive weapons, to get out to the main sea.

Meantime, the boat approaching, Septimius spoke first, addressing Pompey in Latin by the title of *Imperator*. Then Achilles saluted him in Greek, and desired him to come into the boat, because the water was very shallow towards the shore, and a galley must strike upon the sands. At the same time they saw several of the king's ships getting ready, and the shore covered with troops, so that if they would have changed their minds it was then too late; besides, their distrust would have furnished the assassins with a pretence for their injustice. He therefore embraced Cornelia, who lamented his sad exit before it happened; and ordered two centurions, one of his enfranchised slaves, named Philip, and a servant called Scenes, to get into the boat before him. When Achilles had hold of his hand, and he was going to step in himself, he turned to his wife and son, and repeated that verse of Sophocles—

Seekest thou a tyrant's door ! then farewell freedom !  
Though FREE as air before.

These were the last words he spoke to them.

As there was a considerable distance between the galley and the shore, and he observed that not a man in the boat showed him the least civility, or even spoke to him, he looked at Septimius, and said : " Methinks I remember you to have been my fellow-soldier " ; but he answered only with a nod, without testifying any regard or friendship. A profound silence again taking place, Pompey took out a paper, in which he had written a speech in Greek that he designed to make to Ptolemy, and amused himself with reading it.

When they approached the shore, Cornelia, with her friends in the galley, watched the event with great anxiety. She was a little encouraged, when she saw a number of the king's great officers coming down to the strand, in all appearance to receive her husband and do him honor. But the moment Pompey was taking hold of Philip's hand, to raise him with more ease, Septimius came behind, and ran him through the body ; after which Salvius and Achillas also drew their swords. Pompey took his robe in both hands and covered his face, and without saying or doing the least thing unworthy of him, submitted to his fate, only uttering a groan, while they despatched him with many blows. He was then just fifty-nine years old, for he was killed the day after his birthday.



Cornelia and her friends in the galley, upon seeing him murdered, gave a shriek that was heard to the shore, and weighed anchor immediately. Their flight was assisted by a brisk gale, as they got out more to sea; so that the Egyptians gave up their design of pursuing them. The murderers having cut off Pompey's head, threw the body out of the boat naked, and left it exposed to all who were desirous of such a sight. Philip stayed till their curiosity was satisfied, and then washed the body with seawater, and wrapped it in one of his own garments, because he had nothing else at hand. The next thing was to look out for wood for the funeral pile; and casting his eyes over the shore, he spied the old remains of a fishing-boat; which, though not large, would make a sufficient pile for a poor naked body that was not quite entire.

While he was collecting the pieces of plank and putting them together, an old Roman, who had made some of his first campaigns under Pompey, came up and said to Philip: "Who are you that are preparing the funeral of Pompey the Great?" Philip answered: "I am his freedman." "But you shall not," said the old Roman, "have this honor entirely to yourself. As a work of piety offers itself, let me have a share in it; that I may not absolutely repent my having passed so many years in a foreign country; but, to compensate many misfortunes, may have the consolation of doing some of the last hon-

ors to the greatest general Rome ever produced." In this manner was the funeral of Pompey conducted.

Such was the end of Pompey the Great. As for Cæsar, he arrived not long after in Egypt, which he found in great disorder. When they came to present the head, he turned from it, and the person that brought it, as a sight of horror. He received the seal, but it was with tears. The device was a lion holding a sword. The two assassins, Achillas and Photinus, he put to death; and the king, being defeated in battle, perished in the river. Theodotus, the rhetorician, escaped the vengeance of Cæsar, by leaving Egypt; but he wandered about a miserable fugitive, and was hated wherever he went. At last, Marcus Brutus, who killed Cæsar, found the wretch, in his province of Asia, and put him to death, after having made him suffer the most exquisite tortures. The ashes of Pompey were carried to Cornelia, who buried them in his lands near Alba.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Langhorne has well remarked that Pompey has, in all appearance, and in all considerations of his character, had less justice done him by historians than any other man of his time. His popular humanity, his military and political skill, his prudence (which he sometimes unfortunately gave up), his natural bravery and generosity, his conjugal virtues, which (though sometimes impeached) were both naturally and morally great; his cause, which was certainly, in its original interests, the cause of Rome; all these circumstances entitled him to a more distinguished and more respectable character than any of his historians have thought proper to afford him.



## THE ENGINES OF ARCHIMEDES.

FROM THE LIFE OF MARCELLUS.

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MARCELLUS now moved with his whole army to Syracuse, and, encamping near the wall, proceeded to attack the city both by land and by sea. The land forces were conducted by Appius; Marcellus, with sixty galleys, each with five rows of oars, furnished with all sorts of arms and missiles, and a huge bridge of planks laid upon eight ships chained together, upon which was carried the engine to cast stones and darts, assaulted the walls, relying on the abundance and magnificence of his preparations, and on his own previous glory; all which, however, were, it would seem, but trifles for Archimedes and his machines.

These machines he had designed and contrived, not as matters of any importance, but as mere amusements in geometry, in compliance with King Hiero's desire and request, some little time before, that he should reduce to practice some part of his admirable speculations in science, and by accommodating the theoretical truth to sensation and ordinary use, bring

it more within the appreciation of people in general. Eudoxus and Archytas had been the originators of this far-famed and highly prized art of mechanics, which they employed as an elegant illustration of geometrical truths, and as a means of sustaining experimentally, to the satisfaction of the senses, conclusions too intricate for proof by words and diagrams. As, for example, to solve the problem, so often required in constructing geometrical figures, given the two extreme, to find the two mean lines of a proportion, both these mathematicians had recourse to the aid of instruments, adapting to their purpose certain curves and sections of lines.<sup>1</sup> But what with Plato's indignation at it, and his invectives against it as the mere corruption and annihilation of the one good of geometry,—which was thus shamefully turning its back upon the unembodied objects of pure intelligence to recur to sensation, and to ask help (not to be obtained without base subservience and depravation) from matter; so it was that mechanics came to be separated from geometry, and being repudiated and neglected by philosophers, took its place as a military art. Archimedes, however, in writing to King Hiero, whose friend and near relation he was, had stated that, given the force, any weight might be moved; and even boasted, we are told, relying on the strength of

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<sup>1</sup> The *mesolābes* or *mesolabium* was the name by which this instrument was commonly known.

demonstration, that, if there were another earth, by going into it he could remove this. Hiero being struck with amazement at this, and entreating him to make good this problem by actual experiment, and show some great weight moved by a small engine, he fixed accordingly upon a ship of burden out of the king's arsenal, which could not be drawn out of the dock without great labor and many men; and, loading her with many passengers and a full freight, sitting himself the while far off, with no great endeavor, but only holding the head of the pulley in his hand and drawing the cord by degrees, he drew the ship in a straight line, as smoothly and evenly as if she had been in the sea. The king, astonished at this, and convinced of the power of the art, prevailed upon Archimedes to make him engines accommodated to all the purposes, offensive and defensive, of a siege. These the king himself never made use of, because he spent almost all his life in a profound quiet, and the highest affluence. But the apparatus was, in a most opportune time, ready at hand for the Syracusans, and with it also the engineer himself.

When, therefore, the Romans assaulted the walls in two places at once, fear and consternation stupefied the Syracusans, believing that nothing was able to resist that violence and those forces. But when Archimedes began to ply his engines, he at once shot against the land forces all sorts of missile weapons, and immense masses of stone that came down with

incredible noise and violence, against which no man could stand; for they knocked down those upon whom they fell, in heaps, breaking all their ranks and files. In the meantime huge poles, thrust out from the walls over the ships, sunk some by the great weights which they let down from on high upon them; others they lifted up into the air by an iron hand or beak like a crane's beak, and, when they had drawn them up by the prow, and set them on end upon the poop, they plunged them to the bottom of the sea; or else the ships, drawn by engines within, and whirled about, were dashed against steep rocks that stood jutting out under the walls, with great destruction of the soldiers that were aboard them. A ship was frequently lifted up to a great height in the air (a dreadful thing to behold), and was rolled to and fro, and kept swinging until the mariners were all thrown out, when at length it was dashed against the rocks, or let fall. In the meantime, Marcellus himself brought up his engine upon the bridge of ships, which was called *Sambuca*, from some resemblance it had to an instrument of music, but while it was as yet approaching the wall, there was discharged at it a piece of rock of ten talents' weight, then a second and a third, which, striking upon it with immense force and with a noise like thunder, broke all its foundation to pieces, shook out all its fastenings, and completely dislodged it from the bridge. So Marcellus, doubtful what counsel to pur-

sue, drew off his ships to a safer distance, and sounded a retreat to his forces on land. They then took a resolution of coming up under the walls, if it were possible, in the night ; thinking that as Archimedes used ropes stretched at length in playing his engines, the soldiers would now be under the shot, and the darts would, for want of sufficient distance to throw them, fly over their heads without effect. But he, it appeared, had long before framed for such occasions engines accommodated to any distance, and shorter weapons ; and had made numerous small openings in the walls, through which, with engines of a shorter range, unexpected blows were inflicted on the assailants. Thus, when they who thought to deceive the defenders came close up to the walls, instantly a shower of darts and other missile weapons was again cast upon them. And when stones came tumbling down perpendicularly upon their heads, and, as it were, the whole wall shot out arrows at them, they retired. And now, again, as they were going off, arrows and darts of a longer range inflicted a great slaughter among them, and their ships were driven one against another ; while they themselves were not able to retaliate in any way ; for Archimedes had fixed most of his engines immediately under the wall. The Romans, seeing that infinite mischiefs overwhelmed them from no visible means, began to think they were fighting with the gods.

Yet Marcellus escaped unhurt, and, deriding his



own artificers and engineers, exclaimed: "What! must we give up fighting with this geometrical Briareus, who plays pitch and toss with our ships, and, with the multitude of darts which he showers at a single moment upon us, really outdoes the hundred-handed giants of mythology?" The rest of the Syracusans were but the body of Archimedes' designs, one soul moving and governing all; for, laying aside all other arms, with his alone they infested the Romans, and protected themselves. In fine, when such terror had seized upon the Romans, that, if they did but see a little rope or a piece of wood from the wall, they instantly cried out: "There it is again! Archimedes is about to let fly another engine at us," and turned their backs and fled, Marcellus desisted from conflicts and assaults, putting all his hope in a long siege. Yet Archimedes possessed so high a spirit, so profound a soul, and such treasures of scientific knowledge, that though these inventions had now obtained him the renown of more than human sagacity, he yet would not deign to leave behind him any commentary or writing on such subjects; but, repudiating as sordid and ignoble the whole trade of engineering, and every sort of art that lends itself to mere use and profit, he placed his whole affection and ambition in those purer speculations where there can be no reference to the vulgar needs of life; studies, the superiority of which to all others is unquestioned, and in which the only

doubt can be, whether the beauty and grandeur of the subjects examined, or the precision and cogency of the methods and means of proof, most deserve our admiration. It is not possible to find in all geometry more difficult and intricate questions, or more simple and lucid explanations. Some ascribe this to his natural genius; while others think that incredible effort and toil produced these apparently easy and unlabored results. No amount of investigation of yours would succeed in attaining the proof, and yet, once seen, you immediately believe you would have discovered it; by so smooth and so rapid a path he leads you to the conclusion required. And thus it ceases to be incredible that (as is commonly told of him), the charm of his familiar and domestic Siren made him forget his food and neglect his person, to such a degree that when he was occasionally carried by absolute violence to bathe, or have his body anointed, he used to trace geometrical figures in the ashes of the fire, and diagrams in the oil on his body, being in a state of entire preoccupation, and, in the truest sense, divinely possessed with his love and delight in science. His discoveries were numerous and admirable; and he is said to have requested his friends and relations that when he was dead, they would place over his tomb a cylinder containing a sphere, inscribing it with the ratio of three to two which the containing solid bears to the contained.



## DESCRIPTION OF CLEOPATRA.

FROM THE LIFE OF ANTONY.

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WHEN Antony was making preparation for the Parthian War, he sent to command Cleopatra to make her personal appearance in Cilicia, to answer an accusation that she had given great assistance, in the late wars, to Cassius. Dellius, who was sent on this message, had no sooner seen her face, and remarked her adroitness and subtlety in speech, than he felt convinced that Antony would not so much as think of giving any molestation to a woman like this; on the contrary, she would be the first in favor with him. So he set himself at once to pay his court to the Egyptian, and gave her his advice, "to go," in the Homeric style, to Cilicia, "in her best attire,"<sup>1</sup> and bade her fear nothing from Antony, the gentlest and kindest of soldiers. She had some faith in the words of Dellius, but more in her own attractions,

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<sup>1</sup> "To go to Ida in her best attire" is the verse in which Plutarch merely substitutes Cilicia for Ida. See the *Iliad*, Book XIV., 162, where Juno is described as setting forth to beguile Jupiter from his watch on Mount Ida, while Neptune shall check the Trojans.

which, having formerly recommended her to Cæsar and the young Cnæus Pompey, she did not doubt might prove yet more successful with Antony. Their acquaintance was with her when a girl, young, and ignorant of the world, but she was to meet Antony in the time of life when women's beauty is most splendid, and their intellects are in full maturity, for she was now about twenty-eight years of age. She made great preparations for her journey, of money, gifts, and ornaments of value, such as so wealthy a kingdom might afford, but she brought with her her surest hopes in her own magic arts and charms.

She received several letters, both from Antony and from his friends, to summon her, but she paid no attention to these orders; and at last, as if in mockery of them, she came sailing up the river Cydnus, in a barge with gilded stern and outspread sails of purple, while oars of silver beat time to the music of flutes and fifes and harps. She herself lay stretched along under a canopy of cloth of gold, dressed as Venus in a picture, and beautiful young boys, like painted Cupids, stood on each side to fan her. Her maids were dressed like Sea Nymphs and Graces, some steering at the rudder, some working at the ropes. The perfumes diffused themselves from the vessel to the shore, which was covered with multitudes, part following the galley up the river on either bank, part running out of the city to see the sight. The market-place was quite emptied, and Antony at last was left

alone sitting upon the tribunal ; while the word went through all the multitude, that Venus had come to feast with Bacchus, for the common good of Asia. On her arrival, Antony sent to invite her to supper. She thought it fitter he should come to her ; so, willing to show his good-humor and courtesy, he complied, and went. He found the preparations to receive him magnificent beyond expression, but nothing so admirable as the great number of lights ; for on a sudden there were let down all together so great numbers of branches with lights in them so ingeniously disposed, some in squares, and some in circles, that the whole thing was a spectacle that has seldom been equalled for beauty.

The next day, Antony invited her to supper, and was very desirous to outdo her as well in magnificence as contrivance ; but he found he was altogether beaten in both, and was so well convinced of it, that he was himself the first to jest and mock at his poverty of wit, and his rustic awkwardness. She, perceiving that his raillery was broad and gross, and savoring more of the soldier than the courtier, rejoined in the same taste, and fell into it at once, without any sort of reluctance or reserve. For her actual beauty, it is said, was not in itself so remarkable that none could be compared with her, or that no one could see her without being struck by it, but the contact of her presence, if you lived with her, was irresistible ; the attraction of her person, joining

with the charm of her conversation, and the character that attended all she said or did, was something bewitching. It was a pleasure merely to hear the sound of her voice, with which, like an instrument of many strings, she could pass from one language to another; so that there were few of the barbarian nations that she answered by an interpreter; to most of them she spoke herself, as to the Æthiopians, Troglodytes, Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians, and many others, whose language she had learnt; which was all the more surprising, because most of the kings her predecessors scarcely gave themselves the trouble to acquire the Egyptian tongue, and several of them quite abandoned the Macedonian.

Antony was so captivated by her, that, leaving his troops assembled in Mesopotamia, and ready to enter Syria, he suffered himself to be carried away by her to Alexandria, there to keep holiday, like a boy, in play and diversion, squandering and fooling away in enjoyments that most costly, as Antiphon says, of all valuables, time. They had a sort of company, to which they gave a particular name, calling it that of the "Inimitable Livers." The members entertained one another daily in turn, with an extravagance of expenditure beyond measure or belief. Philotas, a physician of Amphissa, who was at that time a student of medicine in Alexandria, used to tell my grandfather, Lamprias, that having some

acquaintance of one of the royal cooks, he was invited by him, being a young man, to come and see the sumptuous preparations for supper. So he was taken into the kitchen, where he admired the prodigious variety of all things; but particularly, seeing eight wild boars roasting whole, he exclaimed: "Surely you have a great number of guests." The cook laughed at his simplicity, and told him there were not more than twelve to sup, but that every dish was to be served up just roasted to a turn, and if any thing was but one minute ill-timed, it was spoiled. "And," said he, "maybe Antony will sup just now, maybe not this hour, maybe he will call for wine, or begin to talk, and will put it off. So that," he continued, "not one, but many suppers must be had in readiness, as it is impossible to guess at his hour."

Plato admits four sorts of flattery, but Cleopatra had a thousand. Were Antony serious or disposed to mirth, she had at any moment some new delight or charm to meet his wishes. She played at dice with him, drank with him, hunted with him; and when he exercised in arms, she was there to see. At night she would go rambling with him to disturb and torment people at their doors and windows, dressed like a servant-woman, for Antony also went in servant's disguise, and from these expeditions he often came home very scurvily answered, and sometimes even beaten severely, though most people guessed who it was. It would be trifling without end



to be particular in his follies, but his fishing must not be forgotten. He went out one day to angle with Cleopatra, and being so unfortunate as to catch nothing in the presence of the queen, he gave secret orders to the fishermen to dive under water, and put fishes that had been already taken upon his hooks; and these he drew so fast that the Egyptian perceived it. But, feigning great admiration, she told everybody how dexterous Antony was, and invited them next day to come and see him again. So, when a number of them had come on board the fishing boats, as soon as he had let down his hook, one of her servants was beforehand with his divers, and fixed upon his hook a salted fish from Pontus. Antony, feeling his line give, drew up the prey, and when, as may be imagined, great laughter ensued, Cleopatra said: "Leave the fishing-rod, general, to us poor sovereigns of Pharos and Canopus; your game is cities, provinces, and kingdoms."





## AGESILAUS, KING OF SPARTA.

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AGESILAUS is said to have been a little man, of a contemptible presence ; but the goodness of his humor, and his constant cheerfulness and playfulness of temper, always free from any thing of moroseness or haughtiness, made him more attractive, even to his old age, than the most beautiful and youthful men of the nation. Theophrastus writes, that the Ephors laid a fine upon Archidamus for marrying a little wife. "For," said they, "she will bring us a race of kinglets, instead of kings."

Agesilaus was excessively fond of his children ; and it is to him the story belongs, that when they were little ones, he used to make a horse of a stick, and ride with them ; and being caught at this sport by a friend, he desired him not to mention it, till he himself should be the father of children.

When the Mantineans revolted from Thebes to Sparta, and Epaminondas understood that Agesilaus had come to their assistance with a powerful army, he privately in the night quitted his quarters at Tegea, and unknown to the Mantineans, passing by

Agesilaus, marched toward Sparta, insomuch that he failed very little of taking it empty and unarmed.



GREEK WARRIOR.

Agesilaus had intelligence sent him by Euthynus, the Thespian, as Callisthenes says, but Xenophon

says by a Cretan, and immediately despatched a horseman to Lacedæmon, to apprize them of it, and to let them know that he was hastening to them. Shortly after his arrival the Thebans crossed the Eurotas. They made an assault upon the town, and were received by Agesilaus with great courage, and with exertions beyond what was to be expected at his years. For he did not now fight with that caution and cunning which he formerly made use of, but put all upon a desperate push; which, though not his usual method, succeeded so well, that he rescued the city out of the very hands of Epaminondas, and forced him to retire, and, at the erection of a trophy, was able, in the presence of their wives and children, to declare that the Lacedæmonians had nobly paid their debt to their country, and particularly his son Archidamus, who had that day made himself illustrious, both by his courage and agility of body, rapidly passing about by the short lanes to every endangered point, and everywhere maintaining the town against the enemy with but few to help him. Isadas, too, the son of Phœbidas, must have been, I think, the admiration of the enemy as well as of his friends. He was a youth of remarkable beauty and stature, in the very flower of the most attractive time of life, when the boy is just rising into the man. He had no arms upon him, and scarcely clothes; he had just anointed himself at home, when, upon the alarm, without further waiting, in that undress, he



GREEK WARRIOR.

snatched a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other, and broke his way through the combatants to the enemies, striking at all he met. He received no wound, whether it were that a special divine care rewarded his valor with an extraordinary protection, or whether his shape being so large and beautiful, and his dress so unusual, they thought him more than a man. The Ephors gave him a garland ; but as soon as they had done so, they fined him a thousand drachmas for going out to battle unarmed.





## THE BROTHERS.

FROM THE LIFE OF TIMOLEON.

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TIMOLEON had an elder brother, whose name was Timophanes, who was every way unlike him, being indiscreet and rash and infected by the suggestions of some friends and foreign soldiers, whom he kept always about him, with a passion for absolute power. He seemed to have a certain force and vehemence in all military service, and even to delight in dangers, and thus he took much with the people, and was advanced to the highest charges as a vigorous and effective warrior; in the obtaining of which offices and promotions Timoleon much assisted him, helping to conceal or at least to extenuate his errors, embellishing by his praise whatever was commendable in him, and setting off his good qualities to the best advantage.

It happened once in the battle fought by the Corinthians against the forces of Argos and Cleonæ, that Timoleon served among the infantry, when Timophanes, commanding their cavalry, was brought into extreme danger; for his horse being wounded fell



forward, and threw him headlong among the enemies, while part of his companions dispersed at once in a panic, and the small number that remained, bearing up against a great multitude, had much ado to maintain any resistance. As soon, therefore, as Timoleon was aware of the accident, he ran hastily to his brother's rescue, and covering the fallen Timophanes with his buckler, after having received an abundance of darts and several strokes by the sword upon his body and his armor, he at length with much difficulty obliged the enemies to retire, and brought off his brother alive and safe. But when the Corinthians, for fear of losing their city a second time, as they had once before, by admitting their allies, made a decree to maintain four hundred mercenaries for its security, and gave Timophanes the command over them, he, abandoning all regard for honor and equity, at once proceeded to put into execution his plans for making himself absolute, and bringing the place under his own power; and having cut off many principal citizens, uncondemned and without trial, who were most likely to hinder his design, he declared himself Tyrant of Corinth; a proceeding that infinitely afflicted Timoleon, to whom the wickedness of such a brother appeared to be his own reproach and calamity. He undertook to persuade him by reasoning to desist from that wild and unhappy ambition, and bethink himself how he could make the Corinthians some amends, and find out an expedient to remedy the

evils he had done them. When his single ambition was rejected and condemned by him, he made a second attempt, taking with him *Æschylus* his kinsman, brother to the wife of *Timophanes*, and a certain diviner, that was his friend, whom *Theopompus* in his history calls *Satyrus*. This company coming to his brother, all three of them surrounded and earnestly importuned him upon the same subject, that now at length he would listen to reason and be of another mind. But when *Timophanes* began first to laugh at the men's simplicity, and presently broke out into rage and indignation against them, *Timoleon* stepped aside from him and stood weeping with his face covered, while the other two, drawing out their swords, despatched him in a moment.

When the rumor of this act was spread about, the better and more generous of the *Corinthians* highly applauded *Timoleon* for the hatred of wrong and the greatness of soul that had made him, though of a gentle disposition and full of love and kindness for his family, think the obligations of his country stronger than the ties of consanguinity, and prefer that which is good and just before gain and interest and his own particular advantage. For the same brother, who with so much bravery had been saved by him when he fought valiantly in the cause of *Corinth*, he had now as nobly sacrificed for enslaving her afterward by a base and treacherous usurpation. But when he came to understand how heavily his

mother took it, and that she likewise uttered the saddest complaints and most terrible imprecations against him, he went to satisfy and comfort her, but he found that she would not endure so much as to look upon him, but caused her doors to be shut that he might have no admission into her presence, and with grief at this he grew so disordered in mind and disconsolate, that he determined to put an end to his perplexity with his life, by abstaining from all manner of sustenance. But through the care and diligence of his friends, who were very persistent with him, and added force to their entreaties, he promised at last that he would endure living, provided it might be in solitude, and remote from company ; so that, quitting all civil transactions and commerce with the world, for a long while after his first retirement he never came into Corinth, but wandered up and down the fields, full of anxious and tormenting thoughts, and for almost twenty years did not offer to concern himself in any honorable or public action.





## THE WOUND OF PHILOPŒMEN.

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CLEOMENES, King of the Lacedæmonians, surprised Megalopolis by night, forced the guards, broke in, and seized the market-place.

Awhile after, King Antigonus coming down to succor the Achæans, they marched with their united forces against Cleomenes; who, having seized the avenues, lay advantageously posted on the hills of Sellasia. Antigonus drew up close by him, with a resolution to force him in his strength. Philopœmen, with his citizens, was that day placed among the horse, next to the Illyrian foot, a numerous body of bold fighters, who completed the line of battle, forming, together with the Achæans, the reserve. Their orders were to keep their ground, and not engage till they should see a red coat lifted up on the point of a spear from the other wing, where the king fought in person. The Achæans obeyed their order and stood fast; but the Illyrians were led on by their commanders to the attack. Euclidas, the brother of Cleomenes, seeing the foot thus severed from the horse, detached the best of his light-armed men,

commanding them to wheel about and charge the unprotected Illyrians in the rear. This charge put things into confusion, and Philopœmen, considering that those light-armed men could be easily repelled, went first to the king's officers to make them sensible of what the occasion required. But when they did not mind what he said, slighting him as a hare-brained fellow (as indeed he was not yet of any repute sufficient to give credit to a proposal of such importance), he charged with his own citizens, and at the first encounter disordered, and soon after put the troops to flight with great slaughter. Then, to encourage the king's army further, to bring them all upon the enemy while he was in confusion, he quitted his horse, and fighting with extreme difficulty in his heavy horseman's dress, in rough, uneven ground, full of water-courses and hollows, had both his thighs struck through with a thonged javelin. It was thrown with great force, so that the head came out on the other side, and made a severe though not a mortal wound. There he stood awhile, as if he had been shackled, unable to move. The fastening which joined the thong to the javelin made it difficult to get it drawn out, nor would anybody about him venture to do it. But the fight being now at the hottest, and likely to be quickly decided, he was transported with the desire of partaking in it, and struggled and strained so violently, setting one leg forward, the other back, that at last he broke the

shaft in two, and thus got the pieces pulled out. Being in this manner set at liberty he caught up his sword, and running through the midst of those who were fighting in the first ranks, animated his men, and set them afire with emulation. Antigonus, after the victory, asked the Macedonians, to try them, how it happened that the cavalry had charged without orders before the signal? and when they answered that they were forced to it against their wills by a young man of Megalopolis, who had fallen in before it was time, Antigonus replied, smiling: "That young man acted like an experienced commander."





## A ROMAN TRIUMPH.

FROM THE LIFE OF PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

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PAULUS ÆMILIUS was now well advanced in years, being nearly threescore, yet vigorous in his own person, and rich in valiant sons and sons-in-law. These, besides a great number of influential relations and friends, joined in urging him to yield to the desires of the people, who called him to the consulship. He at first manifested some shyness of the people, and withdrew himself from their importunity, professing reluctance to hold office; but when they daily came to his doors, urging him to come forth to the place of election, and pressing him with noise and clamor, he acceded to their request. When he appeared amongst the candidates, it did not look as if it were to sue for the consulship, but to bring victory and success, that he came down into the Campus; with such hopes and such gladness did they all receive him there, unanimously choosing him a second time consul; nor would they suffer the lots to be cast, as was usual, to determine which province should fall



to his share, but immediately decreed him the command of the Macedonian War. It is told, that when he had been proclaimed general against Perseus, and was honorably accompanied home by great numbers of people, he found his daughter Tertia, a very little girl, weeping, and taking her to him asked her why she was crying. She, catching him about the neck and kissing him, said: "Oh, father, do you not know that Perseus is dead?" meaning a little dog of that name who had been brought up in the house with her; to which Æmilius replied: "Good fortune, my daughter; I embrace the omen." This Cicero, the orator, relates in his book on divination.

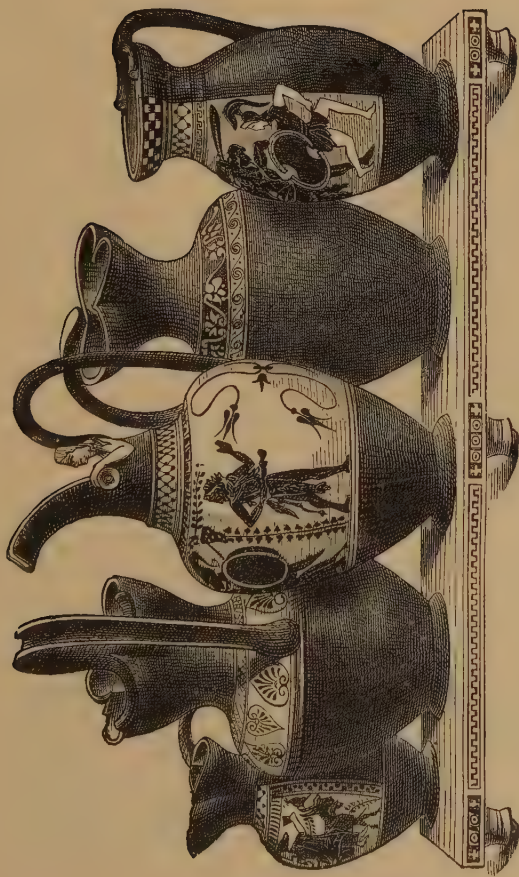
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The triumph of Æmilius over Perseus was performed after this manner.

The people erected scaffolds in the forum, in the circuses, as they call their buildings for horse-races, and in all other parts of the city where they could best behold the show. The spectators were clad in white garments; all the temples were open, and full of garlands and perfumes; the ways were cleared and kept open by numerous officers, who drove back all who crowded into or ran across the main avenue. This triumph lasted three days. On the first, which was scarcely long enough for the sight, were to be seen the statues, pictures, and colossal images which were taken from the enemy, drawn upon two hundred and fifty chariots. On the second, was carried

in a great many wagons the finest and richest armor of the Macedonians, both of brass and steel, all newly polished and glittering; the pieces of which were piled up and arranged purposely with the greatest art, so as to seem to be tumbled in heaps carelessly and by chance; helmets were thrown upon shields, coats of mail upon greaves; Cretan targets and Thracian bucklers and quivers of arrows lay huddled amongst horses' bits, and through these there appeared the points of naked swords, intermixed with long Macedonian sarissas. All these arms were fastened together with just so much looseness that they struck against one another as they were drawn along, and made a harsh and alarming noise, so that, even as spoils of a conquered enemy, they could not be beheld without dread. After these wagons loaded with armor, there followed three thousand men who carried the silver that was coined, in seven hundred and fifty vessels, each of which weighed three talents, and was carried by four men. Others brought silver bowls and goblets and cups, all disposed in such order as to make the best show, and all curious as well for their size as the solidity of their embossed work.

On the third day, early in the morning, first came the trumpeters, who did not sound as they were wont in a procession or solemn entry, but such a charge as the Romans use when they encourage the soldiers to fight. Next followed young men wearing frocks



WINE JUGS, OR OINOCHOI.

with ornamented borders, who led to the sacrifice a hundred and twenty stalled oxen, with their horns gilded, and their heads adorned with ribbons and garlands; and with these were boys that carried basins for libation, of silver and gold. After this was brought the gold coin, which was divided into vessels that weighed three talents, like those that contained the silver; they were in number seventy-seven. These were followed by those that brought the consecrated bowl which Æmilius had caused to be made, that weighed ten talents, and was set with precious stones. Then were exposed to view the cups of Antigonus and Seleucus, and those of the Thericlean<sup>1</sup> make, and all the gold plate that was used at Perseus' table. Next to these came Perseus' chariot, in which his armor was placed, and on that his diadem. And, after a little intermission, the king's children were led captives, and with them a train of their attendants, masters, and teachers, all shedding tears, and stretching out their hands to the spectators, and making the children themselves also beg and entreat their compassion. There were two sons and a daughter whose tender age made them but little sensible of the greatness of their misery, which very insensibility of their condition rendered it the more deplorable; insomuch that

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<sup>1</sup> Thericles, according to the more probable supposition, was a Corinthian potter—the first maker of a particular kind of cup, which long continued to bear his name.



MIXING BOWLS, OR KROTHERES.

Perseus himself was scarcely regarded as he went along, whilst pity fixed the eyes of the Romans upon the infants ; many of them could not forbear tears, and all beheld the sight with a mixture of sorrow and pleasure, until the children had passed.

After his children and their attendants came Perseus himself, clad all in black, and wearing the boots of his country ; and looking like one altogether stunned and deprived of reason, through the greatness of his misfortunes. Next followed a great company of his friends and familiars, whose countenances were disfigured with grief, and who let the spectators see, by their tears and their continual looking upon Perseus, that it was his fortune they so much lamented, and that they were regardless of their own. Perseus sent to Æmilius to entreat that he might not be led in pomp, but be left out of the triumph ; who, deriding, as was but just, his cowardice and fondness of life, sent him this answer, that as for that, it had been before, and was now, in his own power ; giving him to understand that the disgrace could be avoided by death ; which the faint-hearted man not having the spirit for, and made effeminate by I know not what hopes, allowed himself to appear as a part of his own spoils. After these were carried four hundred crowns, all made of gold, sent from the cities by their respective deputations to Æmilius, in honor of his victory. Then he himself came, seated on a chariot magnificently adorned (a man



well worthy to be looked at, even without these ensigns of power), dressed in a robe of purple interwoven with gold, and holding a laurel branch in his right hand. All the army, in like manner, with boughs of laurel in their hands, divided into their bands and companies, followed the chariot of their commander; some singing verses, according to the usual custom, mingled with raillery; others, songs of triumph, and the praise of Æmilius' deeds; who, indeed, was admired and accounted happy by all men, and unenvied by every one that was good; except so far as it seems the province of some god to lessen that happiness which is too great and inordinate, and so to mingle the affairs of human life that no one should be entirely free from calamities; but, as we read in Homer,<sup>1</sup> only those should think themselves truly blessed to whom fortune has given an equal share of good and evil.

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<sup>1</sup> "Grief is useless; cease to lament," says Achilles to Priam, his suppliant for the body of Hector. "For thus have the gods appointed for mortal men: that they should live in vexation, while the gods themselves are untroubled. Two vessels are set upon the threshold of Zeus, of the gifts that he dispenses: one of evil things, the other of good. He who receives from both at the hand of thundering Zeus, meets at one time with evil, and at another with good; he who receives from only one, is a miserable wretch."





## THE NOBLE CHARACTER OF CAIUS FABRICIUS.

FROM THE LIFE OF PYRRHUS.

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CAIUS FABRICIUS, a man of highest consideration among the Romans as an honest man and a good soldier, but extremely poor, went upon an embassy to Pyrrhus to treat about prisoners that had been taken. Pyrrhus received him with much kindness, and privately would have persuaded him to accept of his gold, not for any evil purpose, but as a mark of respect and hospitable kindness. Upon Fabricius' refusal, he pressed him no further, but the next day, having a mind to discompose him, as he had never seen an elephant before, he commanded one of the largest, completely armed, to be placed behind the hangings, as they were talking together. This being done, at a given signal the hanging was drawn aside, and the elephant, raising his trunk over the head of Fabricius, made a horrid and ugly noise. He gently turned about and, smiling, said to Pyrrhus: "Neither your money yesterday, nor this beast to-

day, make any impression upon me." At supper, amongst all sorts of things that were discoursed of, but more particularly Greece and the philosophers there, Cineas, by accident, had occasion to speak of Epicurus, and explained the opinions his followers hold about the gods and the commonwealth, and the object of life, who place the chief happiness of man in pleasure, and decline public affairs as an injury and disturbance of a happy life, and remove the gods afar off both from kindness or anger, or any concern for us at all, to a life wholly without business and flowing in pleasures. Before he had done speaking, Fabricius cried out to Pyrrhus: "O Hercules! may Pyrrhus and the Samnites entertain themselves with this sort of opinions as long as they are at war with us." Pyrrhus, admiring the wisdom and gravity of the man, was the more transported with desire to make friendship instead of war with the city, and entreated him personally, after the peace should be concluded, to accept of living with him as the chief of his ministers and generals. Fabricius answered quietly: "Sir, this will not be for your advantage, for they who now honor and admire you, when they have had experience of me, will rather choose to be governed by me than by you." And Pyrrhus received his answer without any resentment or tyrannic passion; nay, among his friends he highly commended the great mind of Fabricius, and intrusted the prisoners to him alone, on condition that

if the senate should not vote a peace, after they had conversed with their friends and celebrated the festival of Saturn, they should be remanded. And, accordingly, they were sent back after the holidays ; death being decreed for any that stayed behind.

After this, when Fabricius had taken the consulate, a person came with a letter to the camp written by the king's principal physician, offering to take Pyrrhus off by poison, and so end the war without further hazard to the Romans, if he might have a reward proportionable to his service. Fabricius, despising the villany of the man, and disposing the other consul to the same opinion, sent dispatches immediately to Pyrrhus to caution him against the treason. His letter was to this effect : " Caius Fabricius and Quintus Æmilius, consuls of the Romans, to Pyrrhus the king, health. You seem to have made a bad judgment both of your friends and your enemies ; you will understand by reading this letter sent to us, that you are at war with honest men, and trust villains and knaves. Nor do we disclose this out of any favor to you, but lest your ruin might bring a reproach upon us, as if we had ended the war by treachery because not able to do it by force." When Pyrrhus had read the letter, and made inquiry into the treason, he punished the physician, and as an acknowledgment to the Romans sent to Rome the prisoners without ransom. But they, regarding it as at once too great a kindness from an

enemy, and too great a reward for not doing a mean act to accept their prisoners so, released in return an equal number of the Tarentines and Samnites, but would admit of no debate of alliance or peace until Pyrrhus had removed his arms and forces out of Italy, and sailed back to Epirus with the same ships that brought him over.





## FROM THE LIFE OF QUINTUS FABIVS MAXIMVS.

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HANNIBAL was within five miles of Tarentum, when he was informed that the town had been taken by Fabius. He said openly: "Rome, then, has also got a Hannibal; as we won Tarentum, so have we lost it." And, in private with some of his confidants, he told them, for the first time, that he always thought it difficult, but now he held it impossible, with the forces he then had, to master Italy.

Upon this success, Fabius had a triumph decreed him at Rome, much more splendid than his first; they looked upon him now as a champion who had learned to cope with his antagonist, and could now easily foil his arts and prove his best skill ineffectual. And, indeed, the army of Hannibal was at this time partly worn out with continual action, and partly weakened and become dissolute with over abundance and luxury. Marcus Livius, who was governor of Tarentum when it was betrayed to Hannibal, and had then retired into the citadel, which he kept till the town was retaken, was annoyed at these honors

and distinctions, and, on one occasion, openly declared in the senate, that by his resistance, more than by any action of Fabius, Tarentum had been recovered; on which Fabius laughingly replied: "What you say is very true, for if Marcus Livius had not lost Tarentum, Fabius Maximus had never recovered it." The people, among other marks of gratitude, gave his son the consulship of the next year; shortly after whose entrance upon his office, there being some business on foot about provision for the war, his father either on account of age and infirmity, or perhaps out of design to try his son, came up to him on horseback. While he was still at a distance, the young consul observed it, and bade one of his lictors command his father to alight, and tell him that, if he had any business with the consul, he should come on foot. The bystanders seemed offended at the imperiousness of the son towards a father so venerable for his age and his authority, and turned their eyes in silence towards Fabius. He, however, instantly alighted from his horse, and with open arms came up, almost running, and embracing him said: "Yes, my son, you do well, and understand what authority you have received, and over whom you are to use it. This was the way by which we and our forefathers advanced the dignity of Rome, preferring ever her honor and service to our own fathers and children."

And, in fact, it is told that the great-grandfather

of Fabius, who was undoubtedly the greatest man of Rome in his time, both in reputation and authority, who had been five times consul, and had been honored with several triumphs for victories obtained by him, took pleasure in serving as lieutenant under his own son, when he went as consul to his command. And when afterward his son had a triumph bestowed upon him for his good service, the old man followed his triumphant chariot, on horseback, as one of his attendants; and made it his glory, that while he really was, and was acknowledged to be, the greatest man in Rome, and held a father's full power over his son, he yet submitted himself to the laws and the magistrate.







## THE CRUELTY OF LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA.

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SYLLA'S general personal appearance may be known by his statues; only his blue eyes, of themselves extremely keen and glaring, were rendered all the more forbidding and terrible by the complexion of his face, in which white was mixed with rough blotches of fiery red. Hence, it is said, he was surnamed Sylla, and in allusion to it one of the scurrilous jesters at Athens made the verse upon him :

Sylla is a mulberry sprinkled o'er with meal,

Sylla being wholly bent upon slaughter filled the city with executions without number or limit, many wholly uninterested persons falling a sacrifice to private enmity, through his permission and indulgence to his friends. At last Caius Metellus, one of the younger men, made bold in the senate to ask him what end there was of these evils, and at what point he might be expected to stop. "We do not ask you," said he, "to pardon any whom you have resolved to destroy, but to free from doubt those

whom you are pleased to save." Sylla answering that he knew not as yet whom to spare, he asked: "Will you then tell us whom you will punish?" This Sylla said he would do. These last words, some authors say, were spoken not by Metellus, but by Afidius, one of Sylla's fawning companions. Immediately upon this, without communicating with any of the magistrates, Sylla proscribed eighty persons, and notwithstanding the general indignation, after one day's respite, he posted two hundred and twenty more, and on the third again, as many. In an address to the people on this occasion, he told them he had put up as many names as he could think of; those which had escaped his memory he would publish at a future time. He issued an edict likewise, making death the punishment of humanity, proscribing any who should dare to receive and cherish a proscribed person, without exception to brother, son, or parents. And to him who should slay any one proscribed person, he ordained two talents' reward, even were it a slave who had killed his master, or a son his father. And what was thought most unjust of all, he caused the attainder to pass upon their sons, and sons' sons, and made open sale of all their property. Nor did the proscription prevail only at Rome, but throughout all the cities of Italy the effusion of blood was such that neither sanctuary of the gods nor hearth of hospitality nor ancestral home escaped. Men were

butchered in the embraces of their wives, children in the arms of their mothers. Those who perished through public animosity, or private enmity, were nothing in comparison to the numbers of those who suffered for their riches. Even the murderers began to say, that "his fine house killed this man, a garden that, a third, his hot baths." Quintus Aurelius, a quiet, peaceable man, and one who thought all his part in the common calamity consisted in condoling with the misfortunes of others, coming into the forum to read the list, and finding himself among the proscribed, cried out: "Woe is me, my Alban farm has informed against me." He had not gone far before he was despatched by a ruffian, sent on that errand.

In the meantime Marius, on the point of being taken, killed himself; and Sylla, coming to Præneste, at first proceeded judicially against each particular person, till at last, finding it a work of too much time, he cooped them up together in one place, to the number of twelve thousand men, and gave order for the execution of them all, his own host<sup>1</sup> alone excepted. But he, brave man, telling him he could not accept the obligation of life from the hands of one who had been the ruin of his country, went in among the rest, and submitted willingly to the stroke.

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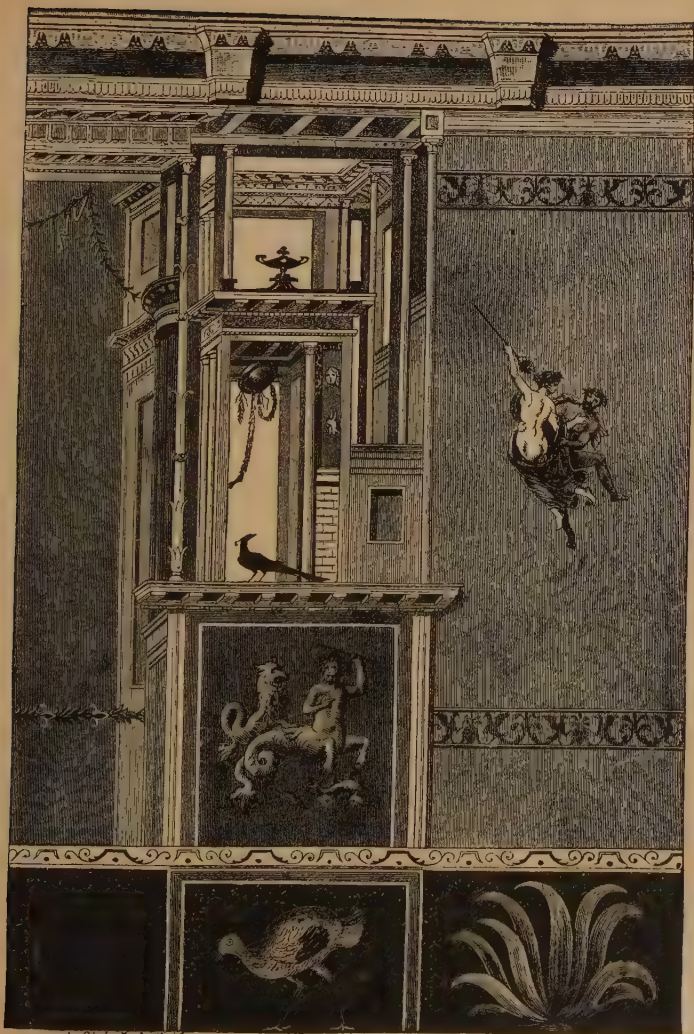
<sup>1</sup> The friend, that is, with whom he always stayed when he happened to be at Præneste, his *xenos*; a relationship much regarded in the Greek and Roman world.



## THE LUXURY OF LUCULLUS.

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LUCULLUS' life, like the Old Comedy, presents us at the commencement with acts of policy and of war, and at the end offers nothing but good eating and drinking, feastings and revellings, and mere play. For I give no higher name to his sumptuous buildings, porticos, and baths, still less to his paintings and sculptures, and all his industry about these curiosities, which he collected with vast expense, lavishly bestowing all the wealth and treasure which he got in the war upon them, insomuch that even now, with all the advance of luxury, the Lucullean gardens are counted the noblest the emperor has. Tubero, the stoic, when he saw his buildings at Naples, where he suspended the hills upon vast tunnels, brought in the sea for moats and fishponds round his house, and pleasure-houses in the waters, called him Xerxes in a gown. He had also fine seats in Tusculum, belvederes, and large open balconies for men's apartments, and porticos to walk in, where Pompey, coming to see him, blamed him for making a house which would be pleasant in



A. G. 1850. J. H.

WALL DECORATION.

summer, but uninhabitable in winter; whom he answered with a smile: "You think me, then, less provident than cranes and storks, not to change my home with the season." When a prætor, with great expense and pains, was preparing a spectacle for the people, and asked him to lend some purple robes for the performers in a chorus, he told him he would go home and see, and if he had any, would let him take them; and the next day asking how many he wanted, and being told that a hundred would suffice, bade him take twice as many: on which the poet Horace observes, that a house is indeed a poor one, where the valuables unseen and unthought of do not exceed all those that meet the eye.

Lucullus' daily entertainments were ostentatiously extravagant, not only in purple coverlets, and plate adorned with precious stones, and dancings, and interludes, but with the greatest diversity of dishes and the most elaborate cookery, for the vulgar to admire and envy. It was a happy thought of Pompey in his sickness, when his physician prescribed a thrush for his dinner, and his servants told him that in summer time thrushes were not to be found anywhere but in Lucullus' fattening coops, that he would not suffer them to fetch one thence, but observed to his physician: "So if Lucullus had not been an epicure, Pompey had not lived," and ordered something else that could easily be got to be prepared for him. Cato was his friend and connection,



but, nevertheless, so hated his life and habits, that when a young man in the senate made a long and tedious speech in praise of frugality and temperance, Cato got up and said: "How long do you mean to go making money like Crassus, living like Lucullus, and talking like Cato?"

It is plain from the anecdotes on record of him, that Lucullus was not only pleased with, but even gloried in, his way of living. For he is said to have feasted several Greeks upon their coming to Rome, day after day, who, out of a true Grecian principle, being ashamed, and declining the invitation, where so great an expense was every day incurred for them, he with a smile said to them: "Some of this, indeed, my Grecian friends, is for your sakes, but more for that of Lucullus." Once when he supped alone, there being only one course, and that but moderately furnished, he called his steward and reproved him, who, professing to have supposed that there would be no need of any great entertainment when nobody was invited, was answered: "What, did you not know, then, that to-day Lucullus was to dine with Lucullus?" This being much spoken of about the city, Cicero and Pompey one day met him loitering in the forum, the former his intimate friend and familiar, and, though there had been some ill-will between Pompey and him about the command in the war, still they used to see each other and converse on easy terms together. Cicero accordingly saluted



him, and asked him whether to-day was a good time for asking a favor of him, and on his answering, "Very much so," and begging to hear what it was, Cicero said: "Then we should like to dine with you to-day, just on the dinner that is prepared for yourself." Lucullus being surprised, and requesting a day's time, they refused to grant it, and would not allow him to talk with his servants, for fear he should give orders for more than was appointed before. But this they consented to, that before their faces he might tell his servant, that to-day he would sup in "the Apollo" (for so one of his best dining-rooms was called), and by this evasion he outwitted his guests. For every room, as it seems, had its own assessment of expenditure, dinner at such a price, and all else in accordance; so that the servants, on knowing where he would dine, knew also how much was to be expended, and in what style and form dinner was to be served. The expense for the Apollo was fifty thousand drachmas, and such a sum being that day laid out, the greatness of the cost did not so much amaze Pompey and Cicero, as the rapidity of the outlay. One might believe that Lucullus thought his money really captive and barbarian, so wantonly and contumeliously did he treat it.

His furnishing of a library, however, deserves praise and record, for he collected very many choice manuscripts; and the use they were put to was even

more magnificent than the purchase, the library being always open, and the walks and reading-rooms about it free to all Greeks, whose delight it was to leave their other occupations and hasten thither as to the habitation of the Muses, there walking about, and diverting one another. He himself often passed his hours there, disputing with the learned in the walks, and giving his advice to statesmen who required it, insomuch that his house was altogether a home, and, in a manner, a Greek prytaneum for those that visited Rome.





FROM THE

LIFE OF SERTORIUS THE ROMAN

WHO ENDEAVORED TO ESTABLISH A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT FOR HIMSELF IN SPAIN.

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SERTORIUS was highly honored for his introducing discipline and good order among the Spaniards, for he altered their furious and savage manner of fighting, and brought them to make use of the Roman armor, taught them to keep their ranks, and observe signals and watchwords; and out of a confused horde of thieves and robbers, he constituted a regular, well-disciplined army. He bestowed silver and gold upon them liberally to gild and adorn their helmets, he had their shields worked with various figures and designs, he brought them into the mode of wearing flowered and embroidered cloaks and coats, and by supplying money for these purposes, and joining with them in all improvements, he won the hearts of all. That, however, which delighted them most was the care that he took of their children. He sent for all the boys of noblest parentage out of

all their tribes, and placed them in the great city of Osca, where he appointed masters to instruct them in the Grecian and Roman learning, that when they came to be men, they might, as he professed, be fitted to share with him in authority, and in conducting the government, although under this pretext he really made them hostages. However, their fathers were wonderfully pleased to see their children going daily to the schools in good order, handsomely dressed in gowns edged with purple, and that Sertorius paid for their lessons, examined them often, distributed rewards to the most deserving, and gave them the golden bosses to hang around their necks, which the Romans called "bullæ."

All the cities on this side of the river Ebro finally united their forces under his command, and his army grew very great, for they flocked together and flowed in upon him from all quarters. But when they continually cried out to attack the enemy, and were impatient of delay, their inexperienced, disorderly rashness caused Sertorius much trouble, who at first strove to restrain them with reason and good counsel, but when he perceived them refractory and unseasonably violent, he gave way to their impetuous desires, and permitted them to engage with the enemy, in such a way that they might be repulsed, yet not totally routed, and so become more obedient to his commands for the future. This happening as he had anticipated, he soon rescued them and

brought them safe into his camp. And after a few days, being willing to encourage them again, when he had called all his army together, he caused two horses to be brought into the field,—one an old, feeble, lean animal, the other a lusty, strong horse, with a remarkably thick and long tail. Near the lean one he placed a tall, strong man, and near the strong, young horse a weak, despicable-looking fellow; and at a given signal the strong man took hold of the weak horse's tail with both his hands, and drew it to him with his whole force, as if he would pull it off; the other, the weak man, in the meantime, set to work to pluck off hair by hair the great horse's tail. And when the strong man had given trouble enough to himself in vain, and sufficient diversion to the company, and had abandoned his attempt, whilst the weak, pitiful fellow in a short time and with little pains had left not a hair on the great horse's tail, Sertorius arose and said to his army: "You see, fellow-soldiers, that perseverance is more prevailing than violence, and that many things which cannot be overcome when they are together, yield readily when taken little by little. Assiduity and persistence are irresistible, and in time overthrow and destroy the greatest powers. Time being the favorable friend and assistant of those who use their judgment to await his occasions, and the destructive enemy of those who are unseasonably urging and pressing forward."

Of all his remarkable exploits, none raised greater admiration than that which he put in practice against the Characitanians. These are a people beyond the river Tagus, who inhabit neither cities nor towns, but live in a vast, high hill, within the deep dens and caves of the rocks, the mouths of which all open towards the north. The country below is of a soil resembling a light clay, so loose as easily to break into powder, and is not firm enough to bear any one that treads upon it, and if you touch it in the least, it flies about like ashes or unslaked lime. In any danger of war, these people enter their caves, and carry in their booty and prey along with them, stay quietly within, secure from every attack. And when Sertorius, leaving Metellus some distance off, had placed his camp near this hill, they slighted and despised him, imagining that he retired into these parts to escape being overthrown by the Romans. And whether out of anger and resentment, or out of his unwillingness to be thought to fly from his enemies, early in the morning he rode up to view the situation of the place. But finding there was no way to come at it, as he rode about, threatening them in vain and disconcerted, he took notice that the wind raised the dust and carried it up towards the caves of the Characitanians, and the northerly wind, which some call Cæcias, prevailing most in those parts, coming up out of moist plains or mountains covered with snow, at this particular time, in the heat of

summer, being further supplied and increased by the melting of the ice in the northern regions, blew a delightful, fresh gale, cooling and refreshing the Characitanians and their cattle all the day long. Sertorius, considering well all circumstances in which either the information of the inhabitants or his own experience had instructed him, commanded his soldiers to shovel up a great quantity of this light, dusty earth, to heap it together, and make a mound of it over against the hill in which these barbarous people lived, who, imagining that all this preparation was for raising a mound to get at them, only mocked and laughed at it. However, he continued the work till the evening, and brought his soldiers back into their camp. The next morning a gentle breeze at first arose, and moved the lightest parts of the earth, and dispersed it about as the chaff before the wind; but when the sun got higher, and the strong, northerly wind had covered the hills with the dust, the soldiers came and turned this mound of earth over and over, and broke the hard clods in pieces, whilst others on horseback rode through it backward and forward, and raised a cloud of dust into the air; then with the wind the whole of it was carried away and blown into the dwellings of the Characitanians, all lying open to the north. And there being no other vent or breathing-place than that through which the Cæcias rushed in upon them, it quickly blinded their eyes, and filled their lungs, and all but choked them,



whilst they strove to draw in the rough air mingled with dust and powdered earth. Nor were they able, with all they could do, to hold out more than two days, but surrendered on the third, adding, by their defeat, not so much to the power of Sertorius, as to his renown, in proving that he was able to conquer places by art, which were impregnable by the force of arms.





## THE SCROLL.

FROM THE LIFE OF LYSANDER.

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THE scroll is made up thus: when the Ephors send an admiral or general on his way, they take two round pieces of wood, both exactly of a length and thickness, and cut even to one another; they keep one themselves, and the other they give to the person they send forth; and these pieces of wood they call Scytales. When, therefore, they have occasion to communicate any secret or important matter, making a scroll of parchment long and narrow like a leathern thong, they roll it about their own staff of wood, leaving no space void between, but covering the surface of the staff with the scroll all over. When they have done this, they write what they please on the scroll, as it is wrapped about the staff; and when they have written, they take off the scroll, and send it to the general without the wood. He, when he has received it, can read nothing of the writing, because the words and letters are not connected, but all broken up; but taking his own staff,

he winds the slip of the scroll about it, so that this folding, restoring all the parts into the same order that they were in before, and putting what comes first into connection with what follows, brings the whole consecutive contents to view round the outside. And this scroll is called a *staff*, after the name of the wood, as a thing measured is by the name of the measure.





## THE CHARACTER OF MARCUS CATO.

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MARCUS CATO grew so powerful by his eloquence that he was commonly called the Roman Demosthenes ; but his manner of life was yet more famous and talked of. For oratorical skill was, as an accomplishment, commonly studied and sought after by all young men ; but he was a rare man who would cultivate the old habits of bodily labor, or prefer a light supper, and a breakfast which never saw the fire ; or be in love with poor clothes and a homely lodging, or could set his ambition rather on doing without luxuries than on possessing them. For now the state, unable to keep its purity by reason of its greatness, and having so many affairs, and people from all parts under its government, was fain to admit many mixed customs and new examples of living. With reason, therefore, everybody admired Cato, when they saw others sink under labors, and grow effeminate by pleasures, but beheld him unconquered by either ; and that, too, not only when he was young and desirous of honor, but also when old and grayheaded, after a consulship and

triumph; like some famous victor in the games, persevering in his exercise and maintaining his character to the very last. He himself says, that he never wore a suit of clothes which cost more than a hundred drachmas; and that, when he was general and consul, he drank the same wine which his workmen did; and that the meat or fish which was bought in the market for his dinner did not cost above thirty *assez*. All which was for the sake of the commonwealth, that his body might be the hardier for the war. Having a piece of embroidered Babylonian tapestry left him, he sold it; because none of his farm-houses were so much as plastered. Nor did he ever buy a slave for above fifteen hundred drachmas; as he did not seek for effeminate and handsome ones, but able, sturdy workmen, horse-keepers, and cow-herds; and these he thought ought to be sold again, when they grew old, and no useless servants fed in a house. In short, he reckoned nothing a good bargain, which was superfluous; but whatever it was, though sold for a farthing, he would think it a great price, if you had no need of it.

Yet, in my judgment, it marks an over-rigid temper for a man to take the work out of his servants as out of brute beasts, turning them off and selling them in their old age. A kind-natured man will keep even worn-out horses and dogs, and not only take care of them when they are foals and whelps, but also when

they are grown old. The Athenians, when they built their Hecatompelon,<sup>1</sup> turned those mules loose to feed freely which they had observed to have done the hardest labor. One of these came once of itself to offer its service, and ran along with, nay, went before, the teams which drew the wagons up to the Acropolis, as if it would incite and encourage them to draw more stoutly; upon which a vote was passed that the creature should be kept at the public charge till it died. The graves of Cimon's horses, which thrice won the Olympian races, are yet to be seen close by his own monument. Old Xanthippus, too, the father of Pericles, entombed his dogs which swam after his galley to Salamis, when the people fled from Athens, on the top of a cliff, which they call the dogs' tomb to this day.

For his general temperance, however, and self-control, Cato really deserves the highest admiration. For when he commanded the army, he never took for himself, and those that belonged to him, more than three bushels of wheat for a month, and somewhat less than a bushel and a half a day of barley for his baggage-cattle. And when he entered upon the government of Sardinia, where his predecessors had been used to require tents, bedding, and clothes upon the public account, and to charge the state

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<sup>1</sup> The Parthenon; built on the site of an older temple which had borne the name of Hecatompelon, or a "hundred feet long." The name was retained for the new building.

heavily with the cost of provisions and entertainments for a great train of servants and friends, the difference he showed in his economy was something incredible. There was nothing of any sort for which he put the public to expense; he would walk, instead of taking a carriage to visit the cities, with only one of the common town officers, who carried his dress, and a cup to offer libation with. Yet, on the other hand, he showed most inflexible severity and strictness, in what related to public justice, and was rigorous and precise in what concerned the ordinances of the commonwealth; so that the Roman government never seemed more terrible, nor yet more mild, than under his administration.

His very manner of speaking seemed to have such a kind of idea with it; for it was courteous, and yet forcible; pleasant, yet overwhelming; facetious, yet austere; sententious, and yet vehement: like Socrates, in the description of Plato, who seemed outwardly to those about him to be but a simple, talkative, blunt fellow; whilst at the bottom he was full of such gravity and matter, as would even move tears, and touch the very hearts of his auditors. Reproving on one occasion the sumptuous habits of the Romans, he said: "It is hard to preserve a city where a fish is sold for more than an ox." He had a saying, also, that the Roman people were like sheep; for they, when single, do not obey, but when altogether in a flock, they follow their leaders. "So



you," said he, "when you have got together in a body, let yourselves be guided by those whom singly you would never think of being advised by."

The Romans having sent three ambassadors to Bithynia, of whom one was gouty, another had his skull trepanned, and the other seemed little better than a fool; Cato, laughing, gave out that the Romans had sent an embassy which had neither feet, head, nor heart.<sup>1</sup>

Cato also said that in his whole life he most repented of three things: one was, that he had trusted a secret to a woman; another, that he went by water when he might have gone by land; the third, that he had remained one whole day without doing any business of moment.

He was a good father, an excellent husband to his wife, and an extraordinary economist; and as he did not manage his affairs of this kind carelessly, and as things of little moment, I think I ought to record a little further whatever was commendable in him in these points. He married a wife more noble than rich; being of opinion that the rich and the high-born are equally haughty and proud; but that those of noble blood would be more

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<sup>1</sup> Both the Romans and the Greeks conceived of the region of the heart, the chest, as the seat not of emotion, nor of will and courage merely, but more especially of judgment, deliberation, and practical sense. Thus the Greeks derived their word for moral wisdom from *phren*, the diaphragm, and the Romans by *egregie cordatus homo* meant a wise statesman.



GATE OF LIONS AT MYCENÆ (RESTORED).

ashamed of base things, and consequently more obedient to their husbands in all that was fit and right. A man who beat his wife or child, laid violent hands, he said, on what was most sacred; and a good husband he reckoned worthy of more praise than a great senator; and he admired the ancient Socrates for nothing so much as for having lived a temperate and contented life with a wife who was a scold, and children who were half-witted:

When his son began to come to years of discretion, Cato himself would teach him to read, although he had a servant, a very good grammarian, called Chilo, who taught many others; but he thought not fit, as he himself said, to have his son reprimanded by a slave, or pulled, it may be, by the ears when found tardy in his lesson; nor would he have him owe to a servant the obligation of so great a thing as his learning; he himself, therefore, taught him his grammar, his law, and his gymnastic exercises. Nor did he only show him, too, how to throw a dart, to fight in armor, and to ride, but to box also, and to endure both heat and cold, and to swim over the most rapid and rough rivers. He says, likewise, that he wrote histories in large characters, with his own hand, that so his son, without stirring out of the house, might learn to know about his countrymen and forefathers: nor did he less abstain from speaking any thing improper before his son, than if it had been in the presence of the sacred virgins, called vestals. Nor would

he ever go into the bath with him ; which seems indeed to have been the common custom of the Romans.

Thus, like an excellent work, Cato formed and fashioned his son to virtue.





## THE SACRED THEBAN BAND.

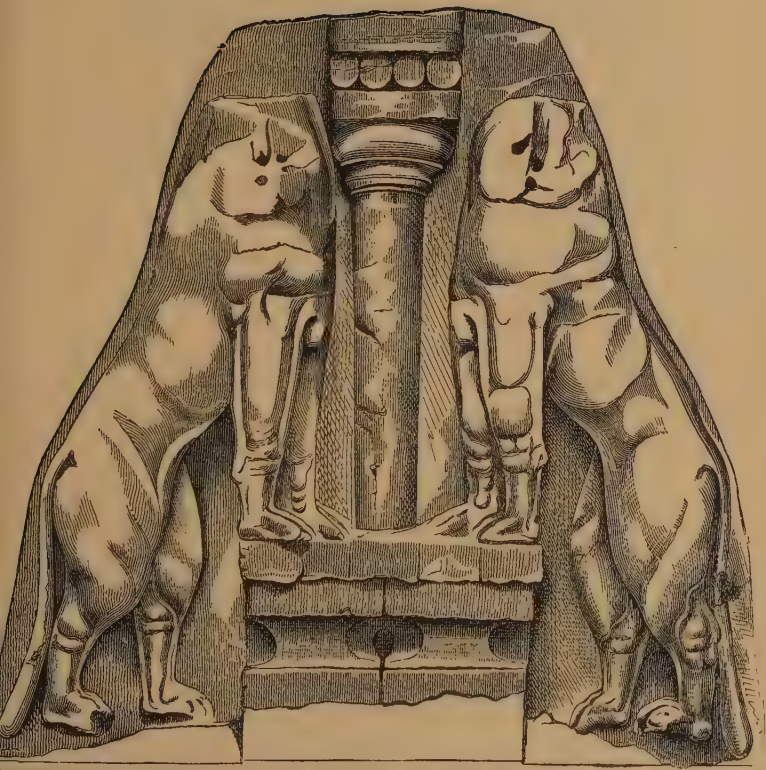
FROM THE LIFE OF PELOPIDAS.

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GORGIDAS, according to some, first formed the Sacred Band of three hundred chosen men, to whom, as being a guard for the citadel, the State allowed provision, and all things necessary for exercise ; and hence they were called the city band, as citadels of old were usually called cities. Others say that it was composed of young men attached to each other by personal affection, and a pleasant saying of Pammenes is current, that Homer's Nestor was not well skilled in ordering an army, when he advised the Greeks to rank tribe and tribe, and family and family together, that

So tribe might tribe, and kinsmen kinsmen aid,

but that he should have joined lovers and their beloved. For men of the same tribe or family little value one another when dangers press ; but a band cemented by friendship grounded upon love, is never to be broken, and invincible ; since all, ashamed to be base in sight of their beloved, willingly rush



CATE OF LIONS.

into danger for the relief of one another. Nor can that be wondered at; since they have more regard for their absent loving friends than for others present; as in the instance of the man who, when his enemy was going to kill him, earnestly requested him to run him through the breast, that his lover might not blush to see him wounded in the back. It is a tradition likewise, that Iolaüs, who assisted Hercules in his labors and fought at his side, was beloved of him; and Aristotle observes, that even in his time, lovers plighted their faith at Iolaüs' tomb. It is likely, therefore, that this band was called sacred on this account; as Plato calls a lover a divine friend. It is stated that it was never beaten till the battle at Chæroneæ; and when Philip, after the fight, took a view of the slain, and came to the place where the three hundred that had fought his phalanx lay dead together, he was filled with wonder, and understanding that it was the band of lovers, he shed tears and said: "Perish any man who suspects that these men either did or suffered any thing that was base."







FROM THE  
LIFE OF TITUS FLAMININUS,  
THE CONQUEROR OF PHILIP.

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AMONG the songs written after the battle of Cynos Cephalas (the Dog-heads) was the following epigram, composed by Alcæus in mockery of Philip, exaggerating the number of the slain :

Naked and tombless, see, O passer-by,  
The thirty thousand men of Thessaly,  
Slain by the Ætolians and the Latin band,  
That came with Titus from Italia's land :  
Alas for mighty Macedon ! that day,  
Swift as a roe, king Philip fled away.

Titus himself thought more highly of his liberation of Greece than of any other of his actions, as appears by the inscription upon some silver targets, dedicated, together with his own shield, to Apollo at Delphi :

Ye Spartan Tyndarids, twin sons of Jove,  
Who in swift horsemanship have placed your love,  
Titus, of great Æneas' race, leaves this  
In honor of the liberty of Greece.

And a golden crown, also offered to Apollo, bore this inscription :

This golden crown upon thy locks divine,  
O blest Latona's son, was set to shine  
By the great captain of the Ænean name.  
O Phœbus, grant the noble Titus fame !

When the ambassadors of Antiochus were recounting to those of Achæa, the various multitudes composing their royal master's forces, and ran over a long catalogue of hard names, "I supped once," said Titus, "with a friend, and could not forbear expostulating with him at the number of dishes he had provided, and said I wondered where he had furnished himself with such a variety ; ' Sir,' replied he, ' to confess the truth, it is all hog's flesh differently cooked.' And so, men of Achæa, when you are told of Antiochus' lancers, and pikemen, and footguards, I advise you not to be surprised ; since in fact they are all Syrians differently armed."

The Chalcidians, who owed their lives to Titus, dedicated to him all the best and most magnificent of their sacred buildings, inscriptions upon which, like the following, may be seen to this day : THE PEOPLE DEDICATE THIS GYMNASIUM TO TITUS AND TO HERCULES ; so again : THE PEOPLE CONSECRATE THE DELPHINIUM TO TITUS AND TO HERCULES ; and what is yet more remarkable, even in our time, a priest of Titus was formally elected

and declared ; and after sacrifice and libation, they sang a set song, of which these are the closing verses :

The Roman Faith, whose aid of yore  
Our vows were offered to implore,  
We worship now and evermore.  
To Rome, to Titus, and to Jove,  
O maidens in the dances move.  
Dances and Io-Pæans too  
Unto the Roman Faith are due,  
O Savior Titus, and to you.





## ALEXANDER.

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IT must be borne in mind that my design has been not to write histories, but lives. And the most glorious exploits do not always furnish us with the clearest discoveries of virtue or vice in men; sometimes a matter of less moment, an expression or a jest, informs us better of their characters and inclinations, than the most famous sieges, the greatest armaments, or the bloodiest battles whatsoever. Therefore, as portrait-painters are more exact in the lines and features of the face, in which the character is seen, than in the other parts of the body, so I must be allowed to give my more particular attention to the marks and indications of the souls of men, in my portrayal of their lives.

It is agreed on by all hands, that on the father's side Alexander descended from Hercules by Caranus, and from Æacus by Neoptolemus on the mother's side. His father Philip being in Samothrace, when he was quite young, fell in love there with Olympias, in company with whom he was initiated in the religious ceremonies of the country,

and her father and mother being both dead, soon after, with the consent of her brother Arymbas, he married her.

Alexander was born on the sixth of Hecatombæon, the same day that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was burnt. The statues that gave the best representation of Alexander's person were those of Lysippus; those peculiarities which many of his successors afterwards and his friends used to affect to imitate,—the inclination of his head a little on one side towards his left shoulder, and his melting eye,—having been expressed by this artist with great exactness. But Apelles, who drew him with thunderbolts in his hand, made his complexion browner and darker than it was naturally; for he was fair and of a light color, passing into ruddiness in his face and upon his breast. His temperance, as to all pleasures, was apparent in him in his very childhood, as he was with much difficulty incited to them, and always used them with great moderation; though in other things he was extremely eager and vehement, and in his love of glory and the pursuit of it, he showed a solidity of high spirit and magnanimity far above his age. For he neither sought nor valued it upon every occasion, as his father Philip did (who affected to show his eloquence almost to a degree of pedantry, and took care to have the victories of his racing chariots at the Olympic games engraved on his coin), but when he was asked by some about him, whether

he would run a race in the Olympic games, as he was very swift-footed, he answered that he would, if he might have kings to run with him.

While he was yet very young, he entertained the ambassadors from the king of Persia, in the absence of his father, and entering much into conversation with them, gained so much upon them by his affability, and the questions he asked them, which were far from being childish or trifling (for he inquired of them the length of the ways, the nature of the road into inner Asia, the character of their king, how he carried himself towards his enemies, and what forces he was able to bring into the field), that they were struck with admiration of him, and looked upon the ability so much famed of Philip, to be nothing in comparison with the forwardness and high purpose that appeared thus early in his son. Whenever he heard that Philip had taken any town of importance, or won any signal victory, instead of rejoicing at it altogether, he would tell his companions that his father would anticipate every thing, and leave him and them no opportunities of performing great and illustrious actions. For being more bent upon action and glory than upon either pleasure or riches, he esteemed all that he should receive from his father as a diminution of his own future achievements; and would have chosen rather to succeed to a kingdom involved in troubles and wars, which would have afforded him frequent exercise of his courage, and a

large field of honor, than to one already flourishing and settled, where his inheritance would be an inactive life, and the mere enjoyment of wealth and luxury.

The care of his education, as it might be presumed, was committed to a great many attendants, preceptors, and teachers, over the whole of whom Leonidas, a near kinsman of Olympias, a man of an austere temper, presided, who did not indeed himself decline the name of what in reality is a noble and honorable office,<sup>1</sup> but in general his dignity, and his near relationship, obtained him from other people the title of Alexander's fosterfather and governor. But he who took upon him the actual place and style of his "pedagogue," was Lysimachus the Acarnanian.

Philonicus the Thessalian brought the horse Bucephalas<sup>2</sup> to Philip, offering to sell him for thirteen talents; but when they went into the field to try him, they found him so very vicious and unmanageable, that he reared up when they endeavored to mount him, and would not so much as endure the voice of any of Philip's attendants. Upon which, as they were leading him away as wholly useless and untractable, Alexander, who stood by, said: "What a magnificent horse they lose, for want of address and boldness to manage him!" Philip at first took

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<sup>1</sup> The paidagogus, or pædagogus, was usually a slave, who *took the boy about*.

<sup>2</sup> Bucephalas, not Bucephalus, appears to be the correct form, though authority is not wanting for the latter.



no notice of what he said, but when he heard him repeat the same thing several times, and perceived that he was much vexed to see the horse sent away, he said to him: "Do you reproach those who are older than yourself, as if you knew more, and were better able to manage him than they?" "I could manage this horse," replied he, "better than others do." "And if you fail," said Philip, "what will you forfeit for your rashness?" "I will pay," answered Alexander, "the whole price of the horse." At this the whole company fell to laughing; and as soon as the wager was settled amongst them, he immediately ran to the horse, and taking hold of the bridle, turned him directly towards the sun, having, it seems, observed that he was disturbed at and afraid of the motion of his own shadow; then letting him go forward a little, still keeping the reins in his hand, and stroking him gently when he found him beginning to grow eager and fiery, he let fall his upper garment softly, and with one nimble leap securely mounted him, and when he was seated, little by little drew in the bridle, and curbed him without either striking or spurring him. Presently, when he found him free from all rebelliousness, and only impatient for the course, he let him go at full speed, inciting him now with a commanding voice, and urging him also with his heel. Philip and his friends looked on at first in silence and anxiety for the result, till seeing him turn at the end of his career, and

come back rejoicing and triumphing for what he had performed, they all burst out into acclamations of applause; and his father, shedding tears, it is said,



ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

for joy, kissed him as he came down from his horse, and in his transport, said: "O my son, seek out a kingdom worthy of thyself, for Macedonia is too little for thee."

After this, considering him to be of a temper easy to be led to his duty by reason, but by no means to be compelled, he always endeavored to persuade rather than to command or force him to any thing ; and now looking upon the instruction and tuition of his youth to be of greater difficulty and importance than to be wholly trusted to the ordinary masters in music and poetry, and the common school subjects, and to require, as Sophocles says,

The bridle and the rudder too,

he sent for Aristotle, the most learned and most celebrated philosopher of his time, and rewarded him with a munificence proportionable to and becoming the care he took to instruct his son. For he repeopled his native city Stagira, which he had caused to be demolished a little before, and restored all the citizens who were in exile or slavery to their habitations. As a place for the pursuit of their studies and exercises, he assigned the temple of the Nymphs, near Mieza, where, to this very day, they show you Aristotle's stone seats, and the shady walks which he was wont to frequent. It would appear that Alexander received from him not only his doctrines of Morals and of Politics, but also something of those more abstruse and profound theories which these philosophers, by the very names they gave them, professed to reserve for oral communication to the initiated, and did not allow many

to become acquainted with. For when he was in Asia, and heard Aristotle had published some treatises of that kind, he wrote to him, using very plain language to him in behalf of philosophy, the following letter: "Alexander to Aristotle greeting. You have not done well to publish your books of oral doctrine, for what is there now that we excel others in, if those things which we have been particularly instructed in be laid open to all? For my part, I assure you, I had rather excel others in the knowledge of what is excellent, than in the extent of my power and dominion. Farewell." And Aristotle, soothing this passion for pre-eminence, speaks, in his excuse for himself, of these doctrines as in fact both published and not published. To tell the truth, his books on metaphysics are written in a style which makes them useless for ordinary teaching, and instructive only in the way of memoranda, for those who have been already conversant with that sort of learning.

Doubtless also it was to Aristotle, that he owed the inclination he had, not to the theory only, but also to the practice of the art of medicine. For when any of his friends were sick, he would often prescribe for them their course of diet, and medicines proper to their disease, as we may find in his epistles. He was naturally a great lover of all kinds of learning and reading; and Onesicritus informs us, that he constantly laid Homer's Iliads, according to the copy

corrected by Aristotle, called "the casket copy," with his dagger under his pillow, declaring that he esteemed it a perfect portable treasure of all military virtue and knowledge. When he was in the upper Asia, being destitute of other books, he ordered Harpalus to send him some; who furnished him with Philistus' History, a great many of the plays of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus, and some dithyrambic odes, composed by Telestes and Philoxenus.

While Philip went on his expedition against the Byzantines, he left Alexander, then sixteen years old, his lieutenant in Macedonia, committing the charge of his seal to him; who, not to sit idle, reduced the rebellious Mædi, and having taken their chief town by storm, drove out the barbarous inhabitants, and planting a colony of several nations in their room, called the place after his own name, Alexandropolis. At the battle of Chæroneæ, which his father fought against the Greeks, he is said to have been the first man that charged the Thebans' sacred band. And even in my remembrance, there stood an old oak tree near the river Cephissus, which people called Alexander's oak, because his tent was pitched under it. And not far off are to be seen the graves of the Macedonians who fell in that battle. This early bravery made Philip so fond of him, that nothing pleased him more than to hear his subjects call himself their general, and Alexander their king.

But later on, through an unfortunate marriage of Philip with Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, an estrangement grew up between them. And not long after the brother of Alexander, Pausanias, having had an insult done to him at the instance of Attalus and Cleopatra, when he found he could get no reparation for his disgrace at Philip's hands, watched his opportunity and murdered him.

Alexander was but twenty years old when his father was murdered, and succeeded to a kingdom beset on all sides with great dangers and rancorous enemies. Hearing the Thebans were in revolt, and the Athenians in correspondence with them, he immediately marched through the pass of Thermopylæ, saying that to Demosthenes, who had called him a child while he was in Illyria, and a youth when he was in Thessaly, he would appear a man before the walls of Athens.

When he came to Thebes, to show how willing he was to accept of their repentance for what was past, he only demanded of them Phœnix and Prothytes, the authors of the rebellion, and proclaimed a general pardon to those who would come over to him. But when the Thebans merely retorted by demanding Philotas and Antipater to be delivered into their hands, he applied himself to make them feel the last extremities of war. The Thebans defended themselves with a zeal and courage beyond their strength, being much outnumbered by their enemies. But

when the Macedonian garrison sallied out upon them from the citadel, they were so hemmed in on all sides, that the greater part of them fell in the battle; the city itself, being taken by storm, was sacked and razed, Alexander's hope being that so severe an example might terrify the rest of Greece into obedience. So that, except the priests, and a few who had heretofore been the friends and connections of the Macedonians, the family of the poet Pindar, and those who were known to have opposed the public vote for the war, all the rest, to the number of thirty thousand, were publicly sold for slaves; and it is computed that upwards of six thousand were put to the sword. Among the other calamities that befell the city, it happened that some Thracian soldiers having broken into the house of a matron of high character and repute named Timoclea, their captain, to satisfy his avarice, asked her if she knew of any money concealed; to which she readily answered that she did, and bade him follow her into a garden, where she showed him a well, into which, she told him, upon the taking of the city she had thrown what she had of most value. The greedy Thracian presently stooping down to view the place where he thought the treasure lay, she came behind him, and pushed him into the well, and then flung great stones in upon him, till she had killed him. After which, when the soldiers led her away bound to Alexander, her very mien and gait showed her to be



a woman of dignity and high mind, not betraying the least sign of fear or astonishment. And when the king asked her who she was, she said: "I am the sister of Theagenes, who fought at the battle of Chæronea with your father Philip, and fell there in command for the liberty of Greece." Alexander was so surprised, both at what she had done, and what she said, that he could not choose but give her and her children their freedom to go whither they pleased.

After this he received the Athenians into favor. Whether it were, like the lion, that his passion was now satisfied, or that after an example of extreme cruelty, he had a mind to appear merciful, it happened well for the Athenians. Certain it is, too, that in after-time he often repented of his severity to the Thebans, and his remorse had such influence on his temper as to make him ever after less rigorous to all others. And it was observed that whatsoever any Theban, who had the good fortune to survive this victory, asked of him, he was sure to grant without the least difficulty.

Soon after, the Greeks being assembled at the Isthmus, declared their resolution of joining with Alexander in the war against the Persians, and proclaimed him their general. While he stayed here, many public ministers and philosophers came from all parts to visit him, and congratulated him on his election, but contrary to his expectation, Diogenes

of Sinope, who then was living at Corinth, thought so little of him, that instead of coming to compliment him, he never so much as stirred out of the suburb called the Cranium, where Alexander ran across him lying at full length in the sun. When he saw so much company near him, he raised himself a little, and vouchsafed to look upon Alexander; and when he kindly asked him whether he wanted any thing, "Yes," said he, "I would have you stand from between me and the sun." Alexander was so struck at this answer, and surprised at the greatness of the man, who had taken so little notice of him, that as he went away, he told his followers who were laughing at the moroseness of the philosopher, that if he were not Alexander, he would choose to be Diogenes.

His army consisted of about thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse; and Aristobulus says he had not a fund of over seventy talents for their pay, nor more than thirty days' provisions, if we may believe Duris. However narrow the beginnings of so vast an undertaking might seem to be, yet he would not embark his army until he had informed himself particularly what means his friends had to enable them to follow him, and supplied what they wanted, by giving good farms to some, a village to one, and the revenue of some hamlet or harbor town to another. So that at last he had portioned out or engaged almost all the royal property; which

giving Perdiccas an occasion to ask him what he would leave himself, he answered: "My hopes." "Your soldiers," replied Perdiccas, "will be your partners in those," and refused to accept the estate he had assigned him.

With such vigorous resolutions, and his mind thus disposed, he passed the Hellespont, and at Troy sacrificed to Minerva, and honored the memory of the heroes who were buried there, with solemn libations; especially Achilles, whose gravestone he anointed, and with his friends, as the ancient custom is, ran naked about his sepulchre, and crowned it with garlands, declaring how happy he esteemed him, in having, while he lived, so faithful a friend, and, when he was dead, so famous a poet to proclaim his actions. While he was viewing the rest of the antiquities and curiosities of the place, being told he might see Paris' harp, if he pleased, he said, he thought it not worth looking at, but he should be glad to see that of Achilles,<sup>1</sup> to which he used to sing the glories and great actions of brave men.

In the meantime Darius' captains having collected large forces, were encamped on the further bank of the river Granicus, and it was necessary to fight, as it were, in the gate of Asia for an entrance into it. And when Parmenio advised him not to attempt

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<sup>1</sup> Iliad, IX., 189. When Ajax, Ulysses, and Phoenix came with the offers of reconciliation from Agamemnon, they found Achilles seated with Patroclus in the tent, singing to his harp "the glories of men."

any thing that day, because it was late, he told him that he should disgrace the Hellespont, should he fear the Granicus. And so without saying more, he immediately took the river with thirteen troops of horse, and advanced against whole showers of darts thrown from the steep opposite side, which was covered with armed multitudes of the enemy's horse and foot, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground and the rapidity of the stream; so that the action seemed to have more of frenzy and desperation in it, than of prudent conduct. However, he persisted obstinately to gain the passage, and at last with much ado making his way up the banks, which were extremely muddy and slippery, he had instantly to join in a mere confused hand-to-hand combat with the enemy, before he could draw up his men, who were still passing over, into any order. For the enemy pressed upon him with loud and warlike outcries; and charging horse against horse, with their lances, after they had broken and spent these, they fell to it with their swords. And Alexander, being easily known by his buckler, and a large plume of white feathers on each side of his helmet, was attacked on all sides, yet escaped without a wound, though his cuirass was pierced by a javelin in one of the joinings. And Rhœsaces and Spithridates, two Persian commanders, falling upon him at once, he avoided one of them, and struck at Rhœsaces, who had a good cuirass on, with such force, that his spear

breaking in his hand, he was glad to betake himself to his dagger. While they were thus engaged, Spithridates came up on the other side of him, and raising himself upon his horse, gave him such a blow with his battle-axe on the helmet, that he cut off the crest of it, with one of his plumes, and the helmet was only just so far strong enough to save him, that the edge of the weapon touched the hair of his head. But as he was about to repeat his stroke, Clitus, called the black Clitus, prevented him, by running him through the body with his spear. At the same time Alexander dispatched Rhœsaces with his sword. While the horse were thus dangerously engaged, the Macedonian phalanx passed the river, and the foot on each side advanced to fight. But the enemy hardly sustaining the first onset, soon gave ground and fled, all but the mercenary Greeks, who, making a stand upon a rising ground, desired quarter, which Alexander, guided rather by passion than judgment, refused to grant, and charging them himself first, had his horse (not Bucephalas, but another) killed under him. And this obstinacy of his to cut off these experienced, desperate men, cost him the lives of more of his own soldiers than all the battle before, besides those who were wounded. The Persians lost in this battle twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse. On Alexander's side, Aristobulus says, there were not over four and thirty missing, of whom nine were foot-soldiers; and in

memory of them he caused as many statues of brass, of Lysippus' making, to be erected. And that the Greeks might participate in the honor of his victory, he sent a portion of the spoils home to them, particularly to the Athenians three hundred bucklers, and upon all the rest he ordered this inscription to be set: "Alexander the son of Philip, and the Greeks, except the Lacedæmonians, won these from the barbarians who inhabit Asia." All the plate and purple garments and other things of the same kind that he took from the Persians, except a very small quantity which he reserved for himself, he sent as a present to his mother.

This battle presently made a great change of affairs to Alexander's advantage. For Sardis itself, the chief seat of the barbarians' power in the maritime provinces, and many other considerable places were surrendered to him; only Halicarnassus and Miletus stood out, which he took by force, together with the territory about them. After which he was a little unsettled in his opinion how to proceed. Sometimes he thought it best to find out Darius as soon as he could, and put all to the hazard of a battle; at another time he looked upon it as a more prudent course to make an entire reduction of the sea-coast, and not to seek the enemy till he had first exercised his power here and made himself secure of the resources of these provinces. While he was thus deliberating what to do, it happened that a spring of

water near the city of Xantus in Lycia of its own accord swelled over its banks and threw up a copper plate upon the margin, in which was engraven in ancient characters that the time would come when the Persian empire should be destroyed by Greeks. Encouraged by this incident, he proceeded to reduce the maritime parts of Cilicia and Phœnicia, and passed his army along the sea-coasts of Pamphylia with such expedition that many historians have described and extolled it with a height of admiration, as if it were no less than a miracle, and an extraordinary effect of divine favor, that the waves which usually come rolling in violently from the main, and hardly ever leave so much as a narrow beach under the steep, broken cliffs at any time uncovered, should on a sudden retire to afford him passage. Menander, in one of his comedies, alludes to this marvel when he says :

Was Alexander ever favored more ?  
Each man I wish for meets me at my door,  
And should I ask for passage through the sea,  
The sea, I doubt not, would retire for me.

Then he subdued the Pisidians who made head against him, and conquered the Phrygians, at whose chief city Gordium, which is said to be the seat of the ancient Midas, he saw the famous chariot fastened with cords made of the rind of the cornel-tree, about which the inhabitants had a tradition, that for him who should untie it was reserved the empire of



the world. Most authors tell the story that Alexander, finding himself unable to untie the knot, the ends of which were secretly twisted round and folded up within it, cut it asunder with his sword. But Aristobulus tells us it was easy for him to undo it, by only pulling the pin out of the pole, to which the yoke was tied, and afterward drawing off the yoke itself from below.

Darius was by this time upon his march from Susa, very confident, in the number of his men, which amounted to six hundred thousand. But Alexander was detained in Cilicia by a sickness, which some say he contracted from his fatigues, others from bathing in the Cydnus, whose waters were exceedingly cold. None of his physicians would venture to give him any remedies, they thought his case so desperate, and were so afraid of the suspicions and ill-will of the Macedonians if they should fail in the cure; till Philip, the Acarnanian, seeing how critical his case was, but relying on his own well-known friendship for him, resolved to try the last efforts of his art, and rather hazard his own credit and life, than suffer him to perish for want of physic, which he confidently administered to him, encouraging him to take it boldly, if he desired a speedy recovery, in order to prosecute the war. At this very time, Parmenio wrote to Alexander from the camp, bidding him have a care of Philip, as one who was bribed by Darius to kill him, with

great sums of money, and a promise of his daughter in marriage. When he had perused the letter, he put it under his pillow, without so much as showing it to any of his most intimate friends, and when Philip came in with the potion, he took it with great cheerfulness and assurance, giving him meantime the letter to read. This was a spectacle well worth being present at, to see Alexander take the draught, and Philip read the letter at the same time, and then turn and look upon one another, but 'with different sentiments; for Alexander's looks were cheerful and open, to show his kindness to and confidence in his physician, while the other was full of surprise and alarm at the accusation, appealing to the gods to witness his innocence, sometimes lifting up his hands to heaven, and then throwing himself down by the bedside, and beseeching Alexander to lay aside all fear, and follow his directions without apprehension. For the medicine at first worked so strongly as to drive, as it were the vital forces into the interior; he lost his speech, and falling into a swoon, had scarcely any sense or pulse left. However, in a very short time, by Philip's means, his health and strength returned, and he showed himself in public to the Macedonians, who were in continual fear and dejection until they saw him abroad again.

Darius, in the meantime, marched into Cilicia, at the same time that Alexander advanced into Syria to meet him; and missing one another in the night,

they both turned back again. Alexander, greatly pleased with the event, made all the haste he could to fight in the defiles, and Darius to recover his former ground, and draw his army out of so disadvantageous a place. For now he began to see his error in engaging himself too far in a country in which the sea, the mountains, and the river Pinarus running through the midst of it, would force him to divide his forces, render his horse almost unserviceable, and only cover and support the weakness of the enemy. Fortune was not kinder to Alexander in the choice of the ground, than he was careful to improve it to his advantage. For being much inferior in numbers, so far from allowing himself to be outflanked, he stretched his right wing much further out than the left wing of his enemies, and fighting there himself in the very foremost ranks, put the barbarians to flight. In this battle he was wounded in the thigh, Chares says by Darius, with whom he fought hand to hand. But in the account which he gave Antipater of the battle, though he owns he was wounded in the thigh with a sword, though not dangerously, he does not mention who it was that wounded him.

Nothing was wanting to complete this victory, in which he overthrew above a hundred and ten thousand of his enemies, but the taking of the person of Darius, who escaped very narrowly by flight. However, having captured his chariot and his bow,

he returned from pursuing him, and found his own men busy in pillaging the barbarians' camp, which (though to disburden themselves, they had left most of their baggage at Damascus) was exceedingly rich. But Darius' tent, which was full of splendid furniture, and quantities of gold and silver, they reserved for Alexander himself, who after he had put off his arms, went to bathe himself, saying: "Let us now cleanse ourselves from the toils of war in the bath of Darius." "Not so," replied one of his followers, "but in Alexander's, rather; for the property of the conquered is, and should be called, the conqueror's." Here, when he beheld the bathing vessels, the water-pots, the pans, and the ointment boxes, all of gold, curiously wrought, and smelt the fragrant odors with which the whole place was exquisitely perfumed, and from thence passed into a pavilion of great size and height, where the couches and tables and preparations for an entertainment were perfectly magnificent, he turned to those about him and said: "This, it seems, is royalty."

But as he was going to supper, word was brought him that Darius' mother and wife and two unmarried daughters, being taken among the rest of the prisoners, were all in mourning and sorrow upon the sight of his chariot and bow, imagining him to be dead. After a little he sent Leonnatus to them, to let them know Darius was not dead, and that they

need not fear any harm from Alexander, who made war upon him only for dominion. But the noblest and most royal part of their usage was, that he treated these illustrious prisoners according to their virtue and character, not suffering them to hear, or receive, or so much as to apprehend any thing that was unbecoming. So that they seemed rather lodged in some temple, or some holy chambers, where they enjoyed their privacy sacred and uninterrupted, than in the camp of an enemy. Yet Darius' wife was accounted the most beautiful princess then living, as her husband the tallest and handsomest man of his time, and the daughters were not unworthy of their parents.

In his diet Alexander was most temperate, as appears, omitting many other circumstances, by what he said to Ada, whom he adopted, with the title of mother, and afterwards created Queen of Caria. For when she, out of kindness, sent him every day many curious dishes, and sweetmeats, and would have furnished him with some cooks and pastry-men, who were thought to have great skill, he told her he wanted none of them, his preceptor, Leonidas, having already given him the best, which were "a night march to prepare for breakfast, and a moderate breakfast to create an appetite for supper." Leonidas also, he added, used to open and search the furniture of his chamber, and his wardrobe, to see if his mother had left him any thing that was delicate or

superfluous. He was much less addicted to wine than was generally believed ; that which gave people occasion to think so of him was, that when he had nothing else to do, he loved to sit long and talk, rather than drink, and over every cup hold a long conversation. For when his affairs called upon him, he would not be detained, as other generals often were, either by wine, or sleep, nuptial solemnities, spectacles, or any other diversion whatsoever ; a convincing argument of which is, that in the short time he lived, he accomplished so many and so great actions. When he was free from employment, after he was up, and had sacrificed to the gods, he used to sit down to breakfast, and then spend the rest of the day in hunting, or writing memoirs, giving decisions on some military questions, or reading. In marches that required no great haste, he would practise shooting as he went along, or to mount a chariot, and alight from it in full speed. Sometimes, for sport's sake, as his journals tells us, he would hunt foxes and go fowling. When he came in for the evening, after he had bathed and was anointed, he would call for his bakers and chief cooks, to know if they had his dinner ready. He never cared to dine till it was pretty late and beginning to be dark, and was wonderfully circumspect at meals that every one who sat with him should be served alike and with proper attention ; and his love of talking, as was said before, made him delight to sit long at his wine.

And no prince's conversation was ever so agreeable, yet he would at times fall into a temper of ostentation and soldierly boasting, which gave his flatterers a great advantage to ride him, and made his better friends very uneasy. After such an entertainment, he was wont to bathe, and then perhaps he would sleep till noon, and sometimes all day long. He was so very temperate in his eating that, when any rare fish or fruits were sent him, he would distribute them among his friends, and often reserve nothing for himself. His table, however, was always magnificent, the expense of it still increasing with his good fortune, till it amounted to ten thousand drachmas a day, to which sum he limited it, and beyond this he would suffer none to lay out in any entertainment where he himself was the guest.

Among the treasures and other booty that was taken from Darius there was a very precious casket, which being brought to Alexander for a great rarity, he asked those about him what they thought fittest to be laid up in it; and when they had delivered their various opinions, he told them he should keep Homer's *Iliad* in it. Nor did Homer prove an unprofitable companion to him in his expeditions. For, after he had become master of Egypt, he determined to found a great and populous city, and give to it his own name. And when he had measured and staked out the ground with the advice of the best architects, he chanced one night in his sleep to



see a wonderful vision ; a gray-headed old man, of a venerable aspect, appeared to stand by him and pronounce these verses :

An island lies, where loud the billows roar,  
Pharos they call it, on the Egyptian shore.

Alexander upon this immediately rose up and went to Pharos, which, at that time, was an island lying a little above the Canobic mouth of the river Nile, though it has now been joined to the mainland by a mole. As soon as he saw the commodious situation of the place, it being a long neck of land, stretching like an isthmus between large lagoons and shallow waters on one side, and the sea on the other, the latter at the end of it making a spacious harbor, he said, Homer, besides his other excellencies, was a very good architect, and ordered the plan of a city to be drawn out answerable to the place. To do which, for want of chalk, the soil being black, they laid out their lines with flour, taking in a pretty large compass of ground in a semicircular figure, and drawing into the inside of the circumference equal straight lines from each end, thus giving it something of the form of a cloak or cape. While he was pleasing himself with his design, on a sudden an infinite number of great birds of several kinds, rising like a black cloud out of the river and the lake, came and devoured every morsel of the flour that had been used in setting out the lines ; at which omen even

Alexander himself was troubled, till the augurs restored his confidence again by telling him it was a sign that the city he was about to build would not only abound in all things within itself, but also be the nurse and feeder of many nations.

The great battle of all that was fought with Darius, was not, as most writers tell us, at Arbela, but at Gaugamela, which, in their language, signifies the camel's house, forasmuch as one of their ancient kings having escaped the pursuit of his enemies on a swift camel, in gratitude to his beast settled him at this place, with an allowance of certain villages and rents for his maintenance. It came to pass that in the month Boëdromion, about the beginning of the Feast of Mysteries at Athens, there was an eclipse of the moon, the eleventh night after which, the two armies being now in view of one another, Darius kept his men in arms, and by torchlight took a general review of them. But Alexander, while his soldiers slept, spent the night before his tent with his diviner Aristander, performing certain mysterious ceremonies, and sacrificing to the god Fear. In the meanwhile the oldest of his commanders, and chiefly Parmenio, when they beheld all the plain between Niphates and the Gordyæan Mountains shining with the lights and fires which were made by the barbarians, and heard the uncertain and confused sound of voices out of their camp, like the distant roaring of a vast ocean, were so amazed at the thoughts of

such a multitude, that after some conference among themselves, they concluded it an enterprise too difficult and hazardous for them to engage so numerous an enemy in the day, and therefore, meeting the king as he came from sacrificing, besought him to attack Darius by night, that the darkness might conceal the danger of the ensuing battle. To this he gave them the celebrated answer: "I will not steal a victory," which, though some at the time thought it a boyish and inconsiderate speech, as if he played with danger, others regarded as an evidence that he confided in his present condition, and acted on a true judgment of the future, not wishing to leave Darius, in case he were worsted, the pretext of trying his fortune again, which he might suppose himself to have, if he could impute his overthrow to the disadvantage of the night, as he did before to the mountains, the narrow passages, and the sea. For while he had such numerous forces and large dominions still remaining, it was not any want of men or arms that could induce him to give up the war, but only the loss of all courage and hope upon the conviction of an undeniable and manifest defeat.

After they were gone from him with this answer, he laid himself down in his tent and slept the rest of the night more soundly than was usual with him, to the astonishment of the commanders. Not only before the battle, but in the height of the danger, he showed himself great, and manifested the self-posses-

sion of a just foresight and confidence. For the battle for some time fluctuated and was dubious. The left wing, where Parmenio commanded, was so impetuously charged by the Bactrian horse that it was disordered and forced to give ground, at the same time that Mazæus had sent a detachment around to fall upon those who guarded the baggage, which so disturbed Parmenio, that he sent messengers to acquaint Alexander that the camp and baggage would be all lost unless he immediately relieved the rear by a considerable reinforcement drawn out of the front. This message being brought him just as he was giving the signal to those about him for the onset, he bade them tell Parmenio that he must have surely lost the use of his reason, and had forgotten, in his alarm, that soldiers, if victorious, become masters of their enemies' baggage; and if defeated, instead of taking care of their wealth or their slaves, have nothing more to do but to fight gallantly and die with honor. When he had said this, he put on his helmet, having the rest of his arms on before he came out of his tent, which were a coat of the Sicilian make, girt close about him, and over that a breastpiece of thickly quilted linen, which was taken among other booty at the battle of Issus. The helmet, which was made by Theophilus, though of iron, was so well wrought and polished, that it was as bright as the most refined silver. To this was fitted a gorget of the same metal, set with

precious stones. His sword, which was the weapon he most used in fight, was given him by the king of the Citieans, and was of an admirable temper and lightness. The belt, which he also wore in all engagements, was of much richer workmanship than the rest of his armor. It was the work of the ancient Helicon, and had been presented to him by the Rhodians, as a mark of their respect to him. So long as he was engaged in drawing up his men, or riding about to give orders or directions, or to view them, he spared Bucephalas, who was now growing old, and made use of another horse; but when he was actually to fight, he sent for him again, and as soon as he was mounted, commenced the attack.

He made the longest address that day to the Thessalians and other Greeks, who answered him with loud shouts desiring him to lead them on against the barbarians, upon which he shifted his javelin into his left hand, and with his right lifted up towards heaven, besought the gods, as Callisthenes tells us, that if he was of a truth the son of Jupiter, they would be pleased to assist and strengthen the Grecians. At the same time the augur Aristander, who had a white mantle about him, and a crown of gold on his head, rode by and showed them an eagle that soared just over Alexander, and directed his flight towards the enemy; which so animated the beholders, that after mutual en-

couragements and exhortations, the cavalry charged at full speed, and were followed in a mass by the whole phalanx of the foot. But before they could well come to blows with the first ranks, the barbarians shrunk back, and were hotly pursued by Alexander, who drove those that fled before him into the middle of the battle, where Darius himself was in person, whom he saw from a distance over the foremost ranks, conspicuous in the midst of his life-guard, a tall and fine-looking man, drawn in a lofty chariot; defended by an abundance of the best cavalry who stood close in order about it, ready to receive the enemy. But Alexander's approach was so terrible, forcing those who gave back upon those who yet maintained their ground, that he beat down and dispersed them almost all. Only a few of the bravest and valiantest opposed the pursuit, who were slain in their king's presence, falling in heaps upon one another, and in the very pangs of death striving to catch hold of the horses. Darius now seeing all was lost, that those who were placed in front to defend him were broken and beaten back upon him, that he could not turn or disengage his chariot without great difficulty, the wheels being clogged and entangled among the dead bodies, which lay in such heaps as not only stopped, but almost covered the horses, and made them rear and grow so unruly that the frightened charioteer could govern them no longer, in this extremity was glad to quit his chariot and his

arms, and mounting, it is said, upon a mare that had been taken from her foal, betook himself to flight.

This battle being thus over, seemed to put a period to the Persian Empire; and Alexander, who was now proclaimed King of Asia, returned thanks to the gods in magnificent sacrifices, and rewarded his friends and followers with great sums of money, and places, and governments of provinces.

From here he marched through the province of Babylon, which immediately submitted to him, and was much surprised at the sight in one place where fire issues in a continuous stream, like a spring of water, out of a cleft in the earth, and the stream of naphtha, which, not far from this spot, flows out so abundantly as to form a sort of lake. This naphtha, in other respects resembling bitumen, is so subject to take fire, that before it touches the flame, it will kindle at the very light that surrounds it, and often inflame the intermediate air also. The barbarians, to show the power and nature of it, sprinkled the street that led to the king's lodgings with little drops of it, and when it was almost night, stood at the further end with torches, which being applied to the moistened places, the first at once taking fire, instantly, as quick as a man could think of it, it caught from one end to another, in such a manner that the whole street was one continuous flame.

Alexander, in his own letters, has given us an account of his war with Porus. He says the two



armies were separated by the river Hydaspes, on whose opposite bank Porus continually kept his elephants in order of battle, with their heads towards their enemies, to guard the passage; that he, on the other hand, made every day a great noise and clamor in his camp, to dissipate the apprehensions of the barbarians; that one stormy, dark night he passed the river, at a distance from the place where the enemy lay, into a little island, with part of his foot and the best of his horse. Here there fell a most violent storm of rain accompanied with lightning and whirlwinds, and although he saw some of his men burnt and dying with the lightning, he nevertheless quitted the island and made over to the other side. Here, apprehending the multitude of the enemy, and to avoid the shock of their elephants, he divided his forces, and attacked their left wing himself, commanding Cœnus to fall upon the right, which was performed with good success. By this means both wings being broken, the enemies fell back in their retreat upon the centre, and crowded in upon their elephants. There rallying, they fought a hand-to-hand battle, and it was the eighth hour of the day before they were entirely defeated.

Almost all the historians agree in relating that Porus was four cubits and a span high, and that when he was upon his elephant, which was of the largest size, his stature and bulk were so answerable,

that he appeared to be proportionably mounted, as a horseman on his horse. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave many singular proofs of sagacity and of particular care of the king, whom, as long as he was strong and in a condition to fight, he defended with great courage, repelling those who set upon him; and as soon as he perceived him overpowered with his numerous wounds and the multitude of darts that were thrown at him, to prevent his falling off, he softly knelt down and began to draw out the darts with his proboscis. When Porus was taken prisoner, and Alexander asked him how he expected to be used, he answered: "As a king." And Alexander, accordingly, not only suffered him to govern his own kingdom as satrap under himself, but gave him also the additional territory of various independent tribes whom he subdued.

Some little time after the battle with Porus, Bucephalas died, as most of the authorities state, under cure of his wounds, or as Onesicritus says, of fatigue and age, being thirty years old. Alexander was no less concerned at his death, than if he had lost an old companion or an intimate friend, and built a city, which he named Bucephalia, in memory of him, on the bank of the river Hydaspes.

Aristobulus tells us that Alexander died of a raging fever, having, in a violent thirst, taken a copious draught of wine, upon which he fell into delirium, and died on the thirtieth day of the month Dæsius.

But the journals give the following record. On the eighteenth of the month, he slept in the bathing-room on account of his fever. The next day he bathed and removed into his chamber, and spent his time in playing at dice with Medius. In the evening he bathed and sacrificed, and ate freely, and had the fever on him through the night. On the twenty-fourth he was much worse, and was carried out of his bed to assist at the sacrifices, and gave order that the general officers should wait within the court, whilst the inferior officers kept watch without doors. On the twenty-fifth he was removed to his palace on the other side the river, where he slept a little, but his fever did not abate, and when the generals came into his chamber, he was speechless, and continued so the following day. The Macedonians, therefore, supposing he was dead, came with great clamors to the gates, and menaced his friends so that they were forced to admit them, and let them all pass through unarmed along by his bedside. The same day Python and Seleucus were dispatched to the temple of Serapis to inquire if they should bring Alexander thither, and were answered by the god, that they should not remove him. On the twenty-eighth, in the evening, he died.



## THE DEATH OF CÆSAR.

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THE place destined for the scene of this murder, in which the senate met that day, was the same in which Pompey's statue stood, and was one of the edifices which Pompey had raised and dedicated with his theatre to the use of the public, plainly showing that there was something of a supernatural influence which guided the action, and ordered it to that particular place. Cassius, just before the act, is said to have looked towards Pompey's statue, and silently implored his assistance, though he had been inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus. But this occasion and the instant danger, carried him away out of all his reasonings, and filled him for the time with a sort of inspiration. As for Antony, who was firm to Cæsar, and a strong man, Brutus Albinus kept him outside the house, and delayed him with a long conversation contrived on purpose. When Cæsar entered, the senate stood up to show their respect to him, and of Brutus' confederates, some came about his chair and stood behind it, others met him, pretending to add their petitions to those of

Tillius Cimber, in behalf of his brother, who was in exile; and they followed him with their joint supplications till he came to his seat. When he had sat down, he refused to comply with their requests, and upon their urging him further, began to reproach them severally for their importunities, when Tillius, laying hold of his robe with both his hands, pulled it down from his neck, which was the signal for the assault. Casca gave him the first cut, in the neck, which was not mortal nor dangerous, coming, as it did, from one who at the beginning of such a bold action was probably very much disturbed. Cæsar immediately turned about, and laid his hand upon the dagger and kept hold of it. And both of them at the same time cried out, he that received the blow, in Latin: "Vile Casca, what does this mean?" and he that gave it, in Greek, to his brother: "Brother, help!" Upon this first onset, those who were not privy to the design were astounded, and their horror and amazement at what they saw were so great, that they durst not fly nor assist Cæsar, nor so much as speak a word. But those who came prepared for the business inclosed him on every side, with their naked daggers in their hands. Which way soever he turned, he met with blows, and saw their swords levelled at his face and eyes, and was encompassed, like a wild beast in the toils, on every side. For it had been agreed that they should each make a thrust at him, and flesh themselves with his blood; for which reason Brutus



DEATH OF CÆSAR.

also gave him one stab in the groin. Some say that he fought and resisted all the rest, shifting his body to avoid the blows, and calling out for help, but that when he saw Brutus' sword drawn, he covered his face with his robe and submitted, letting himself fall, whether it were by chance, or that he was pushed in that direction by his murderers, at the foot of the pedestal on which Pompey's statue stood, and which was thus wet with his blood. So that Pompey himself seemed to have presided, as it were, over the revenge done upon his adversary, who lay here at his feet, and breathed out his soul through a multitude of wounds, for they say he received three and twenty. And the conspirators themselves were many of them wounded by each other, whilst they all levelled their blows at the same person.

When Cæsar's will was opened and it was found that he had left a considerable legacy to each one of the Roman citizens, and when his body was seen carried through the market-place all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer contain themselves within the bounds of tranquillity and order, but heaped together a pile of benches, bars, and tables, upon which they placed the corpse, and setting fire to it, burnt it on them. Then they took brands from the pile, and ran some to fire the houses of the conspirators, others up and down the city, to find out the men and tear them to pieces, but met, however, with none of them, they having taken effectual care to secure themselves.



Cæsar died in his fifty-sixth year, not having survived Pompey above four years. That empire and power which he had pursued through the whole course of his life with so much hazard, he did at last with much difficulty compass, but reaped no other fruits from it than the empty name and invidious glory. But the great genius which attended him through lifetime, even after his death remained as the avenger of his murder, pursuing through every sea and land all those who were concerned in it, and suffering none to escape, but reaching all who in any sort or kind were either actually engaged in the fact, or by their counsels in any way promoted it.

The most remarkable of mere human coincidences was that which befell Cassius, who, when he was defeated at Philippi, killed himself with the same dagger which he had made use of against Cæsar. The most signal preternatural appearances were the great comet, which shone very bright for seven nights after Cæsar's death, and then disappeared, and the dimness of the sun, whose orb continued pale and dull for the whole of that year, never showing its ordinary radiance at its rising, and giving but a feeble heat. The air consequently was damp and gross, for want of stronger rays to open and rarefy it. The fruits, for that reason, never properly ripened, and began to wither and fall off for want of heat, before they were fully formed.



## WEIGHTS, MEASURES, ETC.,

MENTIONED BY PLUTARCH.

*From the Tables of Dr. Arbuthnot.*

### WEIGHTS.

	lb.	oz.	p.wt.	grs.
The Roman libra or pound . . . . .	0	10	18	13 $\frac{5}{7}$
The Attic mina or pound . . . . .	0	11	7	16 $\frac{2}{7}$
The Attic talent, equal to 60 minæ . . . . .	56	11	0	17 $\frac{1}{7}$

### DRY MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

	peck.	gal.	pints.
The Roman modius . . . . .	1	0	0 $\frac{2}{3}$
The Attic choenix, one pint, 15, 705 $\frac{1}{8}$ solid inches . . . . .	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ nearly.
The Attic medimnus . . . . .	4	0	6 $\frac{1}{10}$

### LIQUID MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

	pints.
The cotyle . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$
The cyahus . . . . .	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
The chus . . . . .	6

### MEASURES OF LENGTH.

	Eng. ft.	in.
The Roman foot . . . . .	0	11 $\frac{3}{8}$
The Roman cubit . . . . .	1	5 $\frac{2}{3}$
The Roman pace . . . . .	4	10
The Roman furlong . . . . .	604	4
The Roman mile . . . . .	4835	0
The Grecian cubit . . . . .	1	6 $\frac{1}{3}$
The Grecian furlong . . . . .	504	4 $\frac{1}{8}$
The Grecian mile . . . . .	4030	0

## MONEY.

The quadrans, about . . . . .	\$0.001
The as . . . . .	0.0015
The sestertius . . . . .	0.04
The sestertium, equal to 1,000 sestertii . . . . .	40.00
The denarius . . . . .	0.157
The Attic obolus . . . . .	0.025
The drachma (= the denarius) . . . . .	0.157
The mina, equal to 100 drachmæ . . . . .	15.70
The talent, equal to 60 minæ . . . . .	950.00
The stater-aureus of the Greeks, weighing two Attic drachms . . . . .	4.00
The stater-darius . . . . .	8.00
The Roman aureus was of different value at different periods. According to the proportion mentioned by Tacitus, when it exchanged for 25 denarii, it was of the same value as the Grecian stater . . . . .	
	4.00

## NAMES OF THE ATTIC MONTHS.

The year began with the summer solstice, June 21st of our year. The months were alternately twenty-nine and thirty days in length, so that it was necessary every third year to intercalate a month which was called a second Posideon, to make up the annual loss of eleven days. This, again, had to be omitted every thirtieth year.

Hecatombæon = a part of June and July.

Metageitnion = a part of July and August.

Bædromion = a part of August and September.

Pyanepsion = a part of September and October.

Mæmacterion = a part of October and November.

Posideon = a part of November and December.

Gamelion = a part of December and January.

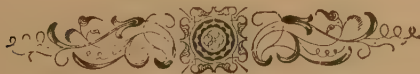
Anthesterion = a part of January and February.

Elaphebolion = a part of February and March.

Munychion = a part of March and April.

Thargelion = a part of April and May.

Scirophorion = a part of May and June.





## A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

FROM DACIER AND OTHER WRITERS.

Years of the World.	Years before the first Olympiad.		Y'rs. before the b'd'g of Rome.	Years before Christ.
2437	737	Deucalion's deluge . . . . .	761	1511
2547	627	Minos I., son of Jupiter and Europa . .	651	1401
2698	486	Minos II., grandson of the first . . .	500	1250
THESEUS.				
2720	454	The expedition of the Argonauts. The- seus attended Jason in it . . . . .	473	1228
2768	406	Troy taken. Demophoon the son of The- seus was at the siege . . . . .	430	1180
2847	327	The return of the Heraclidone to Pelopon- nesus . . . . .	351	1101
2880	294	The first war of the Athenians against Sparta . . . . .	318	1068.
2894	288	Codrus devotes himself . . . . .		
2908	266	The Helots subdued by Agis . . . . .	304	1055
3045	129	The Ionic migration . . . . .	290	1040
		Lycurgus flourishes . . . . .	153	904
	Olympiads.			
3174	I.	<i>The First Olympiad.</i>	25	774
ROMULUS.				
			Years of Rome	
3198	vii. 1.	Rome built . . . . .	—	750
3201	vii. 4.	The rape of the Sabine virgins . . . .	4	747
3235	xvi. 1.	The death of Romulus . . . . .	38	713

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Years of Rome.	Years before Christ.
		NUMA.		
3236	xvi. 3.	Numa elected king . . . . .	39	712
3279	xxvii. 2.	Numa dies . . . . .	82	669
		SOLON.		
3350	xliv. 1.	Solon flourishes . . . . .	153	598
3350	—	Cylon's conspiracy . . . . .	—	—
3354	xlvi. 1.	Epimenides goes to Athens, and expiates the city. He dies soon after at the age of 154. The seven wise men: Æsop and Anacharsis flourish . . . . .		
		Solon, archon . . . . .	157	594
3356	xlvi. 3.	Cræsus, King of Lydia. . . . .	159	592
		Pythagoras goes into Italy . . . . .		
3370	l. 1.	Pisistratus sets up his tyranny. . . . .	173	578
		Cyrus, King of Persia . . . . .		
3391	lv. 2.	Cræsus taken . . . . .	194	557
3401	lvii. 4.		204	547
		PUBLICOLA		
		Is chosen consul in the room of Collatinus . . . . .		
3442	lxviii. 1.	Brutus fights Aruns, the eldest son of Tarquin. Both are killed. . . . .	245	506
		Publicola, consul the third time. His colleague Horatius Pulvillus dedicates the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. . . . .		
3444	lxviii. 3.	Horatius Cocles defends the Sublician Bridge against the Tuscans . . . . .	247	504
		Publicola dies . . . . .		
3448	lxix. 3.	Zeno Eleates flourished . . . . .	251	500
		The battle of Marathon . . . . .	—	499
3459	lxxii. 1.	CORIOLANUS	262	489
3461	lxxii. 2.	Is banished and retires to the Volsci . . . . .	263	488
3462	lxxiii. 1.	Herodotus is born . . . . .	265	486

Years of the World.	Olympiads.		Years of Rome.	Years before Christ.
3463	lxxiii. 2.	Coriolanus besieges Rome ; but being prevailed upon by his mother to retire, is stoned to death by the Volsci . . . . .	266	485
ARISTIDES				
3467	lxxiv. 2.	Is banished for ten years, but recalled at the expiration of three . . . . .	270	481
THEMISTOCLES.				
3470	lxxv. 1.	The battle of Salamis . . . . .	273	478
3471	lxxv. 2.	The battle of Platæa . . . . .	274	477
3474	lxxvi. 1.	Thucydides is born . . . . .	277	474
3479	lxxvii. 2.	Themistocles is banished by the Ostracism . . . . .	282	469
CIMON				
3480	lxxvii. 3.	Beats the Persians both at sea and land . . . . .	283	468
3481	lxxvii. 4.	Socrates is born. He lived 71 years . . . . .	284	467
3500	lxxxii. 3.	Cimon dies. Alcibiades born the same year. Herodotus and Thucydides flourish ; the later is 12 or 13 years younger than the former . . . . .	303	448
—	—	Pindar dies, 80 years old . . . . .	—	440
PERICLES				
3519	lxxxvii. 2.	Stirs up the Peloponnesian War, which lasts 27 years. He was very young when the Romans sent the Decemviri to Athens for Solon's laws . . . . .	322	429
3521	lxxxvii. 4.	Pericles dies . . . . .	324	427
3521	lxxxviii. 1.	Plato born . . . . .	325	426
		Xerxes killed by Artabanus . . . . .		

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Years of Rome.	Years before Christ.
NICIAS.				
3535	xc. 2.	The Athenians undertake the Sicilian War	338	413
3537	xc. 4.	Nicias beaten and put to death in Sicily	340	411
ALCIBIADES				
3538	xcii. 1.	Takes refuge at Sparta, and afterward amongst the Persians . . . . .	—	—
3539	xcii. 2.	Dionysius the elder, now Tyrant of Sicily	342	409
—	—	Sophocles dies, aged 91 . . . . .	—	407
—	—	Euripides dies, aged 75 . . . . .	—	406
LYSANDER				
3545	xciii. 4.	Puts an end to the Peloponnesian War, and establishes the thirty tyrants at Athens . . . . .	348	403
—	—	Thrasybulus expels them . . . . .	—	401
3546	xciv. 1.	Alcibiades put to death by order of Pharnabazus . . . . .	349	402
ARTAXERXES MNEMON				
3549	xciv. 4.	Overthrows his brother Cyrus in a great battle. The retreat of the 10,000 Greeks, conducted by Xenophon . . . . .	352	399
3550	xcv. 1.	Socrates dies . . . . .	353	398
AGESILAUS				
3553	xcv. 4.	Ascends the Spartan throne . . . . .	356	395
3554	xcvi. 1.	Lysander sent to the Hellespont . . . . .	357	394



Years of the World.	Olympiads.		Years of Rome.	Years before Christ.
3555	xcvi. 2.	Agésilæus defeats the Persian cavalry.	—	—
3561	xcvii. 4.	Lysander dies . . . . . The Romans lose the battle of Allia . .	364	387
CAMILLUS				
3562	xcviii. 4.	Retires to Ardea . . . . .	365	386
3566	xcix. 1.	Aristotle born . . . . .	369	382
3569	xcix. 4.	Demosthenes born . . . . .	372	379
3574	ci. 1.	Chabrias defeats the Lacedæmonians .	377	374
3579	cii. 2.	Peace between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians . . . . . The important battle of Leuctra.	382	369
PELOPIDAS				
3580	cii. 3.	General of the Thebans. He headed the sacred band the year before at Leuctra, where Epaminondas commanded in chief . . . . .	383	368
3582	ciiii. 1.	Dionysius the elder, Tyrant of Sicily, dies, and is succeeded by his son . . . .	385	366
3584	ciiii. 3.	Isocrates flourishes . . . . .	387	364
TIMOLEON				
3585	ciiii. 4.	Kills his brother Timophanes, who was setting himself up tyrant in Corinth .	388	363
3586	civ. 1.	Pelopidas defeats Alexander the Tyrant of Phæræ, but falls in the battle . . . .	—	—
3587	civ. 2.	The famous battle of Mantinea, in which Epaminondas, though victorious, is killed by the son of Xenophon . . .	390	361
3588	civ. 3.	Camillus dies . . . . .	391	360
3589	civ. 4.	Artaxerxes dies. So does Agésilæus . .	392	359
DION				
3593	cv. 4.	Expels Dionysius the younger . . . .	396	355

Years of the World.	Olympiads.		Years of Rome.	Years before Christ.
3594	cvi. 1.	Alexander the Great born . . . . .	397	354
3596	cvi. 3.	Dion is killed by Calippus . . . . .	399	352
DEMOSTHENES				
3598	cvii. 1.	Begins to thunder against Philip . . . . .	401	350
		Xenophon dies, aged 90 . . . . .		
3602	cviii. 1.	Plato dies, aged 80 or 81 . . . . .	405	346
3605	cviii. 4.	Timoleon sent to assist the Syracusans . . . . .	408	343
3607	cix. 2.	Dionysius the younger sent off to Corinth . . . . .	410	341
3609	cix. 4.	Epicurus born . . . . .	412	339
3612	cx. 3.	The battle of Chæronea, in which Philip beats the Athenians and Thebans . . . . .	415	336
3613	cx. 4.	Timoleon dies . . . . .	416	335
ALEXANDER THE GREAT				
3614	cx. 1.	Is declared general of all Greece against the Persians, upon the death of his father Philip . . . . .	417	334
3616	cx. 3.	The battle of the Granicus . . . . .	419	332
3619	cxii. 2.	The battle of Arbela . . . . .	422	329
3623	cxiii. 2.	Porus beaten . . . . .	426	325
3627	cxiv. 1.	Alexander dies, aged 33 . . . . .	430	321
		Diogenes dies, aged 90 . . . . .	—	—
—	—	Aristotle dies, aged 63 . . . . .	—	319
PHOCION				
3632	cxv. 3.	Retires to Polyperchon, but is delivered up by him to the Athenians, who put him to death . . . . .	435	316
EUMENES,				
3634	cxvi. 1.	Who had attained to a considerable rank amongst the successors of Alexander the Great, is betrayed to Antigonius, and put to death . . . . .	437	314

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Years of Rome.	Years before Christ.
		DEMETRIUS,		
3636	cxvi. 1.	Surnamed Poliorcetes, permitted by his father, Antigonus, to command the army in Syria when only 22 years of age . . . . .	439	312
3643	cxviii. 2.	He restores the Athenians to their liberty, but they choose to remain in the worst of chains, those of servility and meanness . . . . .	446	305
		Dionysius, the tyrant, dies at Heraclea, aged 55		
		In the year before Christ 288, died Theophrastus, aged 85.		
		And in the year before Christ 285, Theocritus flourished.		
		PYRRHUS,		
3670	cxxv. 1.	King of Epirus, passes over into Italy, where he is defeated by Lævinus . . .	473	272
3685	cxxviii. 4.	The first Punic War, which lasted 24 years . . . . .	488	263
3696	ccxxi. 3.	Philopœmen born . . . . .	499	252
		ARATUS,		
3699	ccxxii. 1.	Of Sicyon, delivered his native city from the tyranny of Nicocles . . . . .	502	249
		AGIS AND CLEOMENES		
3723	ccxxxviii. 2.	Contemporaries with Aratus, for Aratus, being beaten by Cleomenes, calls in Antigonus from Macedonia, which proves the ruin of Greece . . . . .	526	225

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Years of Rome.	Years before Christ.
PHILOPÆMEN				
3727	cxxxix. 2.	Thirty years old when Cleomenes took Megalopolis. About this time lived Hannibal, Marcellus, Fabius Maximus, and Scipio Africanus . . . . .	530	221
3731	cxl. 2.	The second Punic War, which lasted 18 years . . . . .	534	217
3733	cxl. 4.	Hannibal beats the consul Flaminius at the Thrasymenean Lake . . . . .	536	215
3734	cxli. 1.	And the consuls Varo and Æmilius at Cannæ . . . . .	537	214
3736	cxli. 3.	He is beaten by Marcellus at Nola . . . . .	539	212
3738	cxlii. 1.	Marcellus takes Syracuse . . . . .	541	210
3741	cxlii. 4.	Fabius Maximus seizes Tarentum . . . . .	544	207
3747	cxliv. 2.	Fabius Maximus dies . . . . .	550	201
3749	cxliv. 2.	Scipio triumphs for his conquests in Africa . . . . .	552	199
TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS				
3752	cxlv. 3.	Elected consul at the age of 30 . . . . .	555	196
CATO THE CENSOR				
Was 21 or 22 years old when Fabius Maximus took Tarentum. See above.				
3754	cxlvi. 1.	All Greece restored to her liberty by T. Q. Flamininus . . . . .	557	194
Flamininus triumphs ; Demetrius, the son of Philip, and Nabis, Tyrant of Lacedæmon, follow his chariot				
3755	cxlvi. 2.	Cato triumphs for his conquests in Spain.	558	193

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Years of Rome.	Years before Christ.
3766	cxlix. 1.	Scipio Africanus dies . . . . .	569	182
3767	cxlix. 2.	Philopœmen dies on the same year . .	570	181
PAULUS ÆMILIUS,				
Then first consul, was beaten by Hannibal at Cannæ.				
3782	cliii. 1.	When consul the second time he conquered Perseus, and brought him in chains to Rome . . . . .	585	166
Now Terence flourished . . . . .				
3790	clv. 1.	Paulus Æmilius dies . . . . .	593	158
3794	clvi. 1.	Marius born . . . . .	597	154
3801	clvii. 4.	The third Punic War, which continued four years . . . . .	604	147
Cato the Censor dies.				
3804	clviii. 3.	Scipio Æmilianus destroys Carthage; and Mummius sacks and burns Corinth . .	607	144
—	—	Carneades dies, aged 85 . . . . .	—	129
—	—	Polybius dies, aged 81 . . . . .	—	123
TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS.				
3827	clxiv. 2.	The laws of Caius Gracchus . . . . .	630	121
MARIUS				
3843	clxviii. 2.	Marches against Jugurtha . . . . .	646	105
Cicero born . . . . .				
3844	clxviii. 3.	Pompey born . . . . .	647	104
3846	clxix. 1.	Marius, now consul the second time, marches against the Cimbri . . . . .	649	102
3850	clixx. 2.	Julius Cæsar is born in the sixth consulship of Marius . . . . .	653	98
—	—	Lucretius born . . . . .	—	94

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Years of Rome.	Years before Christ.
		SYLLA,		
3855	clxxii. 2.	After his prætorship, sent into Cappadocia . . . . .	658	93
3862	clxxiii. 1.	Makes himself master of Rome . . . .	665	86
3863	clxxiii. 2.	Takes Athens . . . . . Marius dies the same year.	666	85
		SERTORIUS		
3867	clxxiv. 2.	Sent into Spain . . . . .	670	81
3868	clxxiv. 3.	The younger Marius beaten by Sylla; yet soon after he defeats Pontius Telesinus at the gates of Rome. Sylla enters the city, and being created dictator, exercises all manner of cruelties . . . .	671	80
		CRASSUS		
		Enriches himself with buying the estates of persons proscribed.		
		POMPEY,		
3869	clxxiv. 4.	At the age of 25, is sent into Africa against Domitius, and beats him . .	672	79
		CATO OF UTICA		
		Was younger than Pompey; for he was but 14 years old when Sylla's proscriptions were in their utmost rage.		

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Years of Rome.	Years before Christ.
CICERO				
3870	clxxv. 1.	Defends Rosicus against the practices of Sylla. This was his first public pleading. After this he retires to Athens to finish his studies . . . . .	673	78
3871	clxxv. 2.	Sylla, after having destroyed above 100,000 Roman citizens, proscribed 90 senators, and 2,600 knights, resigns his dictatorship, and dies the year following	674	77
3874	clxxvi. 1.	Pompey manages the war in Spain against Sertorius . . . . .	677	74
LUCULLUS,				
3877	clxxvi. 4.	After his consulship, is sent against Mithridates . . . . .	680	71
3879	clxxvii. 2.	Sertorius assassinated in Spain. Crassus consul with Pompey . . . . .	682	69
3881	clxxvii. 4.	Tigranes conquered by Lucullus . . . . .	684	67
3887	clxxix. 2.	Mithridates dies. Pompey forces the temple of Jerusalem . . . . .	690	61
AUGUSTUS CÆSAR born.				
JULIUS CÆSAR				
3891	clxxx. 2.	Appointed consul with Bibulus, obtains Illyria, and the two Gauls, with four legions. He marries his daughter Julia to Pompey . . . . .	694	57
3897	clxxxi. 4.	Crassus is taken by the Parthians and slain . . . . .	700	51
3902	clxxxiii. 1.	Cæsar defeats Pompey at Pharsalia . . . Pompey flies into Egypt and is assassinated there . . . . .	705	46
3903	clxxxiii. 2.	Cæsar makes himself master of Alexandria, and subdues Egypt; after which he marches into Syria, and soon reduces Pharnaces . . . . .	706	45



Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Years of Rome.	Years before Christ.
3904	clxxxiii. 3.	He conquers Juba, Scipio, and Petreius, in Africa, and leads up four triumphs. Previous to which, Cato kills himself .	707	44
3905	clxxxiii. 4.	Cæsar defeats the sons of Pompey at Munda. Cneius falls in the action, and Sextus flies into Sicily. Cæsar triumphs the fifth time . . . . .	708	43
BRUTUS.				
3906	clxxxiv. 1.	Cæsar is killed by Brutus and Cassius.	709	42
3907	clxxxiv. 2.	Brutus passes into Macedonia . . . . .	710	41
MARK ANTONY				
Beaten the same year by Augustus at Modena. He retires to Lepidus. The triumvirate of Augustus, Lepidus, and Antony, who divide the empire amongst them.				
3908	clxxxiv. 3	The battle of Philippi, in which Brutus and Cassius, being overthrown by Augustus and Antony, lay violent hands on themselves . . . . .	711	40
3909	clxxxiv. 4.	Antony leagues with Sextus the son of Pompey against Augustus . . . . .	712	39
3910	clxxxv. 1.	Augustus and Antony renew their friendship after the death of Fulvia, and Antony marries Octavia . . . . .	713	38
3918	clxxxvii. 1.	Augustus and Antony again embroiled .	721	30
3919	clxxxvii. 3.	The battle of Actium. Antony is beaten, and flies into Egypt with Cleopatra. .	722	29
3920	clxxxvii. 4.	Augustus makes himself master of Alexandria. Antony and Cleopatra destroy themselves . . . . .	723	28

Years of the world.	Olympiads.		Years of Rome.	Era of the Incarceration.
GALBA				
3920	clxxxvii. 4.	Born . . . . .	723	28
3947	cxciv. 2.	Otho born . . . . .	750	—
3981	ccii. 4.	Galba appointed consul . . . . .	784	34
3982	cciii. 1.	The revolt of Vindex . . . . .	785	35
4018	ccxi. 4.	Nero killed . . . . .	820	70
—	—	Galba declared emperor . . . . .	—	—
OTHO				
4019	ccxii. 1.	Revolts and persuades the soldiers to despatch Galba; upon which he is proclaimed emperor; and three months after, being defeated by Vitellius, despatches himself . . . . .	821	71



## INDEX

FOR REFERENCE AS TO THE PRONUNCIATION OF  
PROPER NAMES.

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Aban'tidas.	Ægi'na.	Alcy'oneus.
Abde'ra.	Æ'gium.	A'leās.
Abœoc'ritus.	Ægos-pot'amī.	Alexandrop'olis.
Ab'olus.	Æne'as.	Alexic'rates.
Abri'orix.	Æ'olus.	Alfe'nus.
Abrot'onon.	Aēr'opus.	Allob'roges.
Abule'tes.	Æs'chines.	Alo'pece.
Aby'dos.	Æs'chylus.	Alo'pecus.
Academi'a.	Æ'sion.	Al'ycus.
Acestodo'rus.	Æso'pus.	Ama'nus.
Achelo'ūs.	Agathocle'a.	Amar'syas.
Achradi'na.	Aga've.	Ambi'orix.
Acrop'olis.	Age'sias.	Ambro'nes.
Acrot'atus.	Agesila'ūs.	Ame'ria.
Acu'phis.	Agēsip'olis.	Ami'sus.
Adju'trix.	Agēsis'trata.	Amœ'beās.
Adme'tus.	Agī'adæ.	Amomphar'etus.
Ado'nis.	A'gias.	Ampha'res.
Adrani'tans.	Agia'tis.	Amphiara'ūs.
Adra'num.	Agnon'ides.	Amphic'rates.
Adra'nus.	Aha'la.	Amphilochia.
Adria'nus.	Aīdo'neus.	Amphip'olis.
Adrume'tum.	Albi'nus.	Amphith'eūs.
Æac'idæ.	Al'cetas.	Amphit'rope.
Æac'ides.	Alcibi'ades.	Amphit'ryon.
Æ'acus.	Alcid'amas.	Am'ycla.
Ægiali'a.	Alcim'enes.	Am'yclas.
Æ'gias.	Al'cimus.	An'aces.
Ægic'ores.	Alcme'na.	Anac'reon.

Ana'pus.  
 Anaxag'oras.  
 Anazan'drides.  
 Anaxe'nor.  
 Anaxida'mus.  
 Anax'ilas.  
 Anaxila'us.  
 Anaxim'enes.  
 Andoc'ides.  
 Androc'leon.  
 An'drocles.  
 Androcli'des.  
 Androc'rates.  
 Androc'y'des.  
 Andro'geüs.  
 Androm'ache.  
 Androm'achus.  
 Androni'cus.  
 Androt'ion.  
 An'gelus.  
 Anie'nus.  
 Antag'oras.  
 Antal'cidas.  
 Ante'nor.  
 Anthe'don.  
 Anthe'mion.  
 Anthemoc'ritus.  
 An'tias.  
 Antia'tes.  
 Anticli'des.  
 Antic'rates.  
 Antic'yra.  
 Antig'enes.  
 Antigen'idas.  
 Antig'one.  
 Antig'onus.  
 Antilib'anus.  
 Antil'ochus.  
 Antim'achus.  
 Anti'ochis.  
 Anti'ochus.  
 Anti'o'pe.  
 Antio'rus.  
 Antip'ater.  
 Antiph'anes.

Antiph'ates.  
 Antiph'ilus.  
 An'tiphon.  
 Antis'thenes.  
 Ao'üs.  
 Ap'ama.  
 Apel'licon.  
 Aph'ytæ.  
 Apolloc'rates.  
 Apollodo'rus.  
 Apollon'ides.  
 Apollop'h'anes.  
 Apolloth'emis.  
 Apoth'etæ.  
 Apseph'ion.  
 Ap'tera.  
 Aqui'num.  
 Aqui'nus.  
 Ar'acus.  
 Ara'tus.  
 Arbe'la.  
 Arcesila'üs.  
 Archede'mus.  
 Archela'üs.  
 Archep'tolis.  
 Arches'tratus.  
 Ar'chias.  
 Archibi'ades.  
 Archib'ius.  
 Archida'mia.  
 Archidam'idas.  
 Archida'mus.  
 Archil'ochus.  
 Archime'des.  
 Archit'eles.  
 Archon'ides.  
 Archy'tas.  
 Ar'dea.  
 Areop'agus.  
 Ar'ete.  
 A'reas.  
 Argileo'nis.  
 Arginü'sæ.  
 Ariam'enes.  
 Ariara'thes.

Ari'us.  
 Arim'inum.  
 Ariobarza'nes.  
 Aris'teas.  
 Aristi'des.  
 Aris'tion.  
 Aristobu'le.  
 Aristobu'lus.  
 Aristocli'tus.  
 Aristoc'rates.  
 Aristoc'ritus.  
 Aristode'mus.  
 Aristogi'ton.  
 Aristom'ache.  
 Aristom'achus.  
 Aristom'enes.  
 Aristoni'cus.  
 Aris'tonus.  
 Aristoph'anes.  
 Aristot'eles.  
 Aristox'enus.  
 Aris'tratus.  
 Ar'naces or Arna'ces.  
 Ar'pates or Arpa'tes.  
 Arpi'num.  
 Arrhen'ides.  
 Ar'saces or Arsa'ces.  
 Artaba'nus.  
 Artax'ata.  
 Artemido'rus.  
 Ar'temis.  
 Ar'temon.  
 Arthmi'adas.  
 Aruve'ni.  
 Ar'ybas.  
 Asbolom'eni.  
 As'calis.  
 As'calon.  
 Asclepi'ades.  
 As'culum.  
 A'sea.  
 Asiat'icus.  
 Asin'arus.  
 Aso'pus.  
 As'petus.

- Astero'pus.  
 Astu'ra.  
 Asty'anax.  
 Asty'ochus.  
 Astyph'ilus.  
 Asy'lum.  
 Athama'nes.  
 Ath'anis.  
 Athenodo'rus.  
 Athenoph'anes.  
 Ath'esis.  
 Atropate'ne.  
 Attali'a.  
 At'talus.  
 At'ticus.  
 Autocli'des.  
 Auto'leon.  
 Autol'ycus.  
 Aux'imum.  
 Axi'ochus.  
 Ax'ius.  
 Bab'ya.  
 Bacchi'adæ.  
 Bac'chides.  
 Bacchyl'ides.  
 Bago'äs.  
 Bali'nus.  
 Bamby'ce.  
 Barsi'ne.  
 Bat'aces.  
 Bat'alus.  
 Bata'vi or Bat'avi.  
 Batia'tes.  
 Bedri'acum.  
 Belbi'na.  
 Beller'ophon.  
 Belli'nus.  
 Bello'na.  
 Belu'ris.  
 Bereni'ce.  
 Bery'tus or Ber'ytus.  
 Bib'ulus.  
 Boccho'ris.  
 Boëdrom'ion.  
 Bœo'rix.  
 Bos'porus.  
 Bras'idæ.  
 Bri'areus.  
 Buceph'alas.  
 Busi'ris.  
 Buthro'tum.  
 Cabi'ra.  
 Cabi'ri.  
 Cadme'a.  
 Cæci'na.  
 Cæsa'rion.  
 Caie'ta.  
 Calauri'a, correctly  
     Calaure'a.  
 Cale'nus.  
 Calli'ades.  
 Cal'lias.  
 Callib'ius.  
 Callic'rates.  
 Callicrat'idæ.  
 Callid'romon.  
 Callim'achus.  
 Callim'edon.  
 Callini'cus.  
 Cal'liphon.  
 Callip'pides.  
 Callis'thenes.  
 Callis'tratus.  
 Calvi'nus.  
 Cal'ydon.  
 Camby'ses.  
 Cameri'nus.  
 Came'rium.  
 Cami'rus.  
 Cane'thus.  
 Cano'pus.  
 Can'tharus.  
 Cap'aneus.  
 Cape'na.  
 Capena'tes.  
 Ca'phyæ.  
 Cap'itæ.  
 Cap'ito.  
 Capitoli'nus.  
 Caprif'i'cus.  
 Caproti'næ.  
 Car'anus.  
 Cari'næ.  
 Carne'ades.  
 Carnu'tes.  
 Carnuti'ni.  
 Caryat'ides.  
 Casili'num.  
 Casi'num.  
 Cas'tulo.  
 Cat'ana.  
 Catili'na.  
 Cat'ulus.  
 Cau'casus.  
 Cebali'nus.  
 Cel'eres.  
 Cen'chrea.  
 Censori'nus.  
 Ceph'alon.  
 Ceph'alus.  
 Ceph'i'sodorus.  
 Cephisod'otus.  
 Ceph'i'sus or Cephis'-  
     sus.  
 Cerami'cus.  
 Cerci'na.  
 Cer'cyon.  
 Cerea'te.  
 Cer'malus.  
 Cethe'gus.  
 Chærone'a.  
 Chalce'don.  
 Chalco'don.  
 Charide'mus.  
 Charila'tis.  
 Charim'enes.  
 Chari'nus.  
 Charoni'tæ.  
 Chersone'sus.  
 Chilo'nis.  
 Chær'ilus.  
 Chrysog'onus.  
 Cin'eas.

Circe'um.	Crat'erus.	Deïm'achus.
Cissu'sa.	Cratesicle'a.	Deï'oneus.
Clazom'enæ.	Cratesip'olis.	Deïot'arus.
Cleæ'netus.	Crati'nus.	Dem'ades.
Clean'drides.	Cremo'na.	Demæ'netus.
Cle'obis.	Creophy'lus.	Demara'tus.
Cleoc'ritus.	Crime'sus.	Demar'etus.
Cleom'brotus.	Crispi'nus.	De'meas.
Cleome'des.	Critola'idas.	Democli'des.
Cleom'edon.	Critola'üs.	Democh'ares.
Cleom'enes.	Cro'bylus.	Democ'rates.
Cleo'næ.	Crom'myon.	Democ'ritus.
Cleoni'ce.	Crustume'rium.	Demo'leon.
Cleon'ides.	Ctesib'ius.	Demo'nax.
Cleon'ymus.	Ctes'iphon.	Demoph'anes.
Cleop'ater.	Cya'nean Islands.	Demoph'ilus.
Cleopa'tra.	Cyc'lades.	Dem'ophon.
Cleoph'anes.	Cynæg'y'rus.	Demop'olis.
Cleoptol'emus.	Cynosceph'alæ.	Demos'tratus.
Cle'ora.	Cyp'selus.	Dercyl'lidas.
Clep'sydra.	Cyre'ne and Cyrene'-	Dexith'ea.
Clide'mus.	ans.	Diade'matus.
Clis'thenes.	Cythe'ra.	Diam'peres.
Clitom'achus.	Cythe'ris.	Dicæarche'a.
Clodo'nes.	Cyz'icus.	Dic'omes.
Clym'ene.		Did'yma.
Cna'cion.	Dæd'alus.	Did'ymus.
Coäl'emus.	Daïm'achus.	Dieutych'idas.
Co'lias.	Damag'oras.	Dindyme'ne.
Collati'nus.	Damara'tus.	Dinoc'rates.
Colo'nis.	Damoch'ares.	Dinom'ache.
Col'ophon.	Damocli'das.	Diocli'des.
Co'mias.	Damoc'rates.	Diodo'rus.
Commage'ne.	Damon'ides.	Diog'enes.
Con'nidas.	Damot'eles.	Diogi'ton.
Cono'pion.	Damy'r'ias.	Diome'des.
Corace'sium.	Dan'aüs.	Dionysodo'rus.
Corcy'ra.	Da'ochus.	Dioph'anes.
Cor'duba.	Dar'danus.	Diopi'thes.
Cori'oli.	Dari'us.	Dioscor'ides.
Cornu'tus.	Dascyli'tis.	Dioscu'ri.
Corvi'nus.	Dassare'tis.	Diphil'ides.
Coryne'tes.	Decele'a.	Diph'ilus.
Cot'ylo.	Deñani'ra.	Dip'y'lon.
Cra'nium or Crane'um.	Deïdami'a.	Di'rades.

Doc'imus.  
 Dodo'na.  
 Doryla'us.  
 Dromocli'des.

Ecbat'ana.  
 Ecde'lus.  
 Ecde'mus.  
 Echec'rates.  
 Echecrat'ides.  
 Echede'mus and Eche-  
 demi'a.

Ec'nomum.  
 Elate'a.  
 El'atus.  
 E'lea.  
 Elephe'nor.  
 Ele'us.  
 Elpini'ce.  
 Em'pylus.  
 Enar'sphorus.  
 Ende'is.  
 Epaphrodi'tus.  
 Epe'ratus.  
 Eph'orus.  
 Epic'rates.  
 Epicu'rus.  
 Epicy'des.  
 Epicyd'idas.  
 Epige'thes.  
 Epig'onus.  
 Epil'ycus.  
 Epimen'ides.  
 Epip'olæ.  
 Epi'rus.  
 Epita'deus. (?)  
 Epiti'mus.  
 Epix'yês.  
 Erasis'tratus.  
 Eratos'thenes.  
 Er'gades.  
 Ergi'nus.  
 Ergot'eles.  
 Eri'neus.  
 Es'quiline.

Etym'ocles.  
 Eubu'lus.  
 Eu'chidas.  
 Eucli'a.  
 Eucli'das.  
 Eucli'des.  
 Eudam'idas.  
 Euda'mus.  
 Eude'mus.  
 Euer'getes.  
 Eume'lus.  
 Eu'menes.  
 Eu'neos.  
 Eu'nomus.  
 Euphem'ides.  
 Eupho'rion.  
 Euphran'tides.  
 Euphra'tes.  
 Eupol'emus.  
 Eupo'lia.  
 Eu'polis.  
 Eurip'ides.  
 Euro'tas.  
 Eurybi'ades.  
 Eu'rycles.  
 Eurycli'das.  
 Euryd'ice.  
 Euryl'ochus.  
 Eurym'edon.  
 Eu'rypon.  
 Euryptol'emus.  
 Eurys'aces.  
 Eu'rytus.  
 Euthyde'mus.  
 Euthy'mus.  
 Euthy'nus.  
 Eu'tychus.  
 Evag'oras.  
 Evan'gelus.  
 Execes'tides.

Fau'stulus.  
 Fecia'les.  
 Ferenti'na.  
 Fide'næ.

Flam'ines.  
 Flamini'nus.

Gabe'ni.  
 Gæ'satæ.  
 Gæsy'lus.  
 Gal'ate.  
 Gandari'tans.  
 Gaugame'la.  
 Gela'nor.  
 Ger'adas.  
 Gerane'a.  
 Gergi'thus.  
 German'icus.  
 Gon'atas.  
 Gon'gylus.  
 Gordye'ne.  
 Gor'gias.  
 Gor'gidas.  
 Gorgo'leon.  
 Graci'nus.

Hagnon'ides.  
 Hagnoth'emis.  
 Hal'imus.  
 Halone'sus.  
 Hal'ycus.  
 Har'palus.  
 Has'drubal.  
 Hec'ale.  
 Hecale'ne.  
 Hecatomb'edon.  
 Hec'uba.  
 Hedyl'ium.  
 Hege'mon.  
 Hege'sias.  
 Hegesip'yle.  
 Heges'tratus.  
 Hel'enus.  
 Hel'icon.  
 Hel'icus.  
 Heliop'olis.  
 He'lius.  
 Hellan'icus.  
 Heni'ocha.



Hephæ's'tion.	Hyb'reas.	La'beo.
Heracle'a.	Hyc'cara.	Labi'e'nus.
Heracli'des.	Hyp'ates.	Laccoplu'ti.
Heracli'tus.	Hyper'batas.	Lach'ares.
Her'cules.	Hyper'bolus.	La'cia.
He'reās.	Hyperi'des.	Laci'adæ.
Hermag'oras.	Hypos'tates.	Lacrat'idas.
Hermi'one.	Hypse'chidas.	Lac'ritus.
Hermoc'rates.	Hypsicra'tia.	Lævi'nus.
Hermola'üs.	Hyp'sion.	La'is.
Hermoti'mus.	Hyro'des.	Lam'achus.
Hero'des.	Hy'siæ.	La'mia.
Herod'otus.		Lam'pido.
Heroph'ytus.	Iacche'um.	Lam'prias.
Heros'tratus.	Ialy'sus.	Lamp'sacus.
He'siod.	Iapyg'ia.	Langobri'tæ. (?)
Hesych'ia.	Ib'ycus.	Laod'ice.
Hexap'yla.	Ic'elus.	Laodice'a.
Hic'etes.	Icti'nus.	Laom'edon.
Hid'rieus.	Idom'eneus.	Lap'ithæ.
Hi'eræ.	I'ëtæ.	Lath'yus.
Hierap'olis.	Illyr'icum.	Lati'nus.
Hi'ero.	Ino'ra.	Lato'na.
Hieron'ymus.	Iola'üs.	Lattam'yas.
Him'era.	I'ope.	Lau'rium or Lauri'um.
Hip'pada.	I'ophon.	Lavi'ci.
Hippar'ete.	Iphic'rates.	Lebade'a.
Hippari'nus.	Iph'itus.	Len'tulus.
Hip'pias.	Isau'ricus.	Leob'otes.
Hip'pitas.	Is'ias.	Leoch'ares.
Hippob'otæ.	Is'idas.	Leoc'rates.
Hip'poclus.	Isido'rus.	Leon'idas.
Hippoc'oön.	Isme'nias.	Leonna'tus.
Hippoc'rates.	Isme'nus.	Leon'tidas.
Hippodami'a.	Isoc'rates.	Leonti'ni.
Hippol'yta.	Isod'ice.	Leos'thenes.
Hippol'ytus.	Isso'rion.	Leotych'ides.
Hippom'achus.	It'alus.	Lep'idus.
Hippom'edon.	Ithag'enes.	Lep'tines.
Hipponi'cus.	Itho'me.	Leucas'pides.
Hipposthen'idas.	Ithoma'tas.	Leucon'oë.
Homolo'ichus.	Iu'lis.	Leucoth'eä.
Hopli'tæ.	Ixi'on.	Leuc'trides.
Hopli'tes.		Libe'thra.
Horcomos'ium.	Janic'ulum.	Libiti'na.

- Licto' res.  
 Lin' gones.  
 Lipare' ans.  
 Lit' uus.  
 Longim' anus.  
 Loth' ronus.  
 Lu' ceres.  
 Luci' na.  
 Luci' nus.  
 Lu' cumo.  
 Lycao' nia.  
 Lyce' um.  
 Lycome' dæ or Ly-  
     com' idæ.  
 Lydi' adas.  
 Lyg' damis.  
 Lysan' dridas.  
 Lysanor' idas.  
 Lys' ias.  
 Lysid' ice.  
 Lysim' achus.  
  
 Maca' ria.  
 Mac' edon.  
 Macedon' icus.  
 Machan' idas.  
 Machærio' nes.  
 Macha' res. (?)  
 Macha' tas.  
 Macri' nus.  
 Mæce' nas.  
 Mæ' dica.  
 Mæmacte' rion.  
 Mæo' tis.  
 Majo' res.  
 Mal' aca.  
 Mal' citas.  
 Ma' lea.  
 Manc' ius.  
 Mandrocli' das.  
 Manipula' res.  
 Manip' uli.  
 Mantine' a.  
 Mar' athon.  
 Mar' athus.  
  
 Marcelli' nus.  
 Margi' tes.  
 Mar' ica.  
 Marphada' tes.  
 Marruci' ni.  
 Mar' syas.  
 Martia' nus.  
 Masaba' tes.  
 Massil' ia.  
 Matu' ta.  
 Mau' ricus.  
 Max' imus.  
 Mede' a.  
 Mediola' num.  
 Medu' sa.  
 Megaba' tes.  
 Megaby' zus.  
 Meg' acles.  
 Mega' leās.  
 Megaloph' anes.  
 Megalop' olis.  
 Meg' ara.  
 Megis' tonus.  
 Melano' pus.  
 Melea' ger.  
 Mele' sias.  
 Melesip' pidas.  
 Mel' ita.  
 Melite' a.  
 Menecli' das.  
 Menec' rates.  
 Menede' mus.  
 Menela' ūs.  
 Menem' achus.  
 Mercedi' nus.  
 Meri' ones.  
 Mer' ope.  
 Mer' ula.  
 Mesol' abes.  
 Mesola' bium.  
 Messa' la.  
 Messa' na.  
 Messe' na.  
 Messi' na.  
 Metag' enes.  
  
 Metagit' nion.  
 Metro' bius.  
 Metrodo' rus.  
 Mic' ion.  
 Mid' ias.  
 Milesi' aca.  
 Mile' tus.  
 Milti' ades.  
 Mimallo' nes.  
 Min' darus.  
 Mino' a.  
 Mise' num.  
 Mithrida' tes.  
 Mithrobarza' nes.  
 Mityle' ne.  
 Mnasith' eŭs.  
 Mne' sicles.  
 Mnesiph' ilus.  
 Mnesiptol' ema.  
 Mo' dena.  
 Mœ' rocles.  
 Molpa' dia.  
 Mone' ta.  
 Mon' ime.  
 Motho' ne.  
 Munych' ia.  
 Munych' ion.  
 Mu' nychus.  
 Mure' na.  
 Muse' um.  
 Mu' tina.  
 Myc' ale.  
 Myce' næ.  
 Myla' sa.  
 Myron' ides.  
 Myr' silus.  
 Myr' tilus.  
 Mystago' gus.  
 My' ūs.  
  
 Nar' nia.  
 Nartha' cius.  
 Nasi' ca.  
 Nau' plia.  
 Nausic' rates.

Nausith'ois.  
 Neal'ces.  
 Neäp'olis.  
 Nectan'abis.  
 Ne'leus.  
 Ne'mea.  
 Neme'an.  
 Nem'esis.  
 Neocho'rus.  
 Ne'ocles.  
 Neoptol'emus.  
 Nicag'oras.  
 Nica'nor.  
 Nica'tor.  
 Nicera'tus.  
 Nic'ias.  
 Nic'ocles.  
 Nicoc'reon.  
 Nicode'mus.  
 Nicog'enes.  
 Nicola'tus.  
 Nicom'ache.  
 Nicom'achus.  
 Nicome'des.  
 Nicon'idas.  
 Nicop'olis.  
 Nicos'trata.  
 Nipha'tes.  
 Nis'ibis.  
 Non'acris.  
 Norba'nus.  
 Nor'ici.  
 Nume'rius.  
 Numid'icus.  
 Nu'mitor.  
 Nun'dinæ.  
 Nur'sia.  
 Nymphid'ia.  
 Oä'ses.  
 Ob'olus.  
 Oce'anus.  
 Ode'üm.  
 Æd'ipus.  
 Æn'arus.

Æne'is.  
 Æni'adæ.  
 Æno'pion.  
 Oli'zon.  
 Ol'ocrus.  
 Ol'orus.  
 Ol'thacus.  
 Olym'pias.  
 Olympiodo'rus.  
 Omi'ses.  
 Om'phale.  
 On'arus.  
 One'a.  
 Onesic'ritus.  
 Opi'ma.  
 Opisthod'omus.  
 Op'lacus.  
 Op'tilus.  
 Optil'etis.  
 Orchal'ides.  
 Orchom'enus.  
 Orci'ni.  
 Orcyn'ii.  
 Oreste'üm.  
 O'retis.  
 Or'icum.  
 Or'icus.  
 Ori'tæ.  
 Or'neüs.  
 Or'nytus.  
 Oroba'zes.  
 Oro'pus.  
 Orsoda'tes.  
 Orthag'oras.  
 Orthop'agus.  
 Osta'nes.  
 Ot'ryæ.  
 Ovic'ula.  
 Oxyd'racæ. (?)  
 Pachy'nus.  
 Pacia'nus.  
 Pac'orus.  
 Pad'ua.  
 Pædago'gus.

Pædare'tus.  
 Pag'asæ.  
 Pal'atine.  
 Pala'tium.  
 Pallan'tidæ.  
 Pallan'tium.  
 Palle'ne.  
 Pam'menes.  
 Pam'philus.  
 Pamphyl'ia.  
 Pand'ion.  
 Pando'sia.  
 Pan'emus.  
 Pan'o'pe.  
 Pan'o'peus.  
 Panta'leon.  
 Pantho'ides.  
 Papy'rus.  
 Paræto'nium.  
 Par'alus.  
 Parapota'mians.  
 Parmen'ides.  
 Parme'nio.  
 Parrha'sius.  
 Par'thenon.  
 Parys'atis. (?)  
 Pas'acas. (?)  
 Pasargadæ.  
 Pa'seäs.  
 Pasic'rates.  
 Pasiph'æ.  
 Pas'iphon.  
 Pasiti'gris.  
 Pas'saro.  
 Patare'ans.  
 Pata'vium.  
 Patro'buis.  
 Patro'clus.  
 Patro'nis.  
 Pauli'nus.  
 Pausa'nias.  
 Peda'lium.  
 Pel'agon.  
 Pe'lias.  
 Pelop'idas.

Peloponne'sus.  
 Pelu'sium.  
 Penel'ope.  
 Pentacosimedim'ni.  
 Pentap'yla.  
 Pentel'ican.  
 Pentele'um.  
 Pepare'thus.  
 Per'gamus.  
 Per'icles.  
 Pericli'das.  
 Perigu'ne.  
 Peripatet'ic.  
 Periphe'mus.  
 Periphe'tes.  
 Periphore'tus.  
 Per'itas.  
 Perseph'one.  
 Pes'sinus.  
 Pete'lia.  
 Pet'etüs.  
 Peti'nus.  
 Pet'rochus.  
 Phæd'imus.  
 Phænar'ete.  
 Phænomer'ides.  
 Pha'ëthon.  
 Phale'rum.  
 Phali'nus.  
 Phanode'mus.  
 Pharmacu'sa.  
 Pharmu'thi.  
 Pharnaba'zus.  
 Phar'naces.  
 Pharnapa'tes.  
 Pharsa'lia.  
 Pharsa'lus.  
 Phar'ygæ.  
 Phase'lis.  
 Phaÿl'lus.  
 Phe'neüs.  
 Pher'ecles.  
 Pher'eclus.  
 Pherecy'des.  
 Pherenda'tes.

Phereni'cus.  
 Phidit'ia.  
 Phila'idæ.  
 Philag'rus.  
 Philar'gyrus.  
 Phil'arus.  
 Phile'tas.  
 Phil'ides.  
 Philip'pides.  
 Phil'lidas.  
 Philobæo'tus.  
 Philoch'orus.  
 Phil'ocles.  
 Philoc'rates.  
 Philocte'tes.  
 Philoc'ypus.  
 Philol'acon.  
 Philol'ogus.  
 Philom'brotus.  
 Philome'des.  
 Philome'lus.  
 Philome'tor.  
 Philoni'cus.  
 Philop'ator.  
 Philopoli'tes.  
 Philosteph'anus.  
 Philos'tratus.  
 Philo'tas.  
 Philox'enus.  
 Philo'tis.  
 Phli'us.  
 Phlog'idas.  
 Phlo'gius.  
 Phly'a.  
 Pho'cion.  
 Phcæb'idas.  
 Phor'mion.  
 Phraä'tes.  
 Phras'icles.  
 Phrear'rhi.  
 Phryn'ichus.  
 Phthi'a.  
 Phthio'tis.  
 Phyla'cia.  
 Phyla'cion.

Phy'le.  
 Phytal'idæ.  
 Pice'num.  
 Pië'rion.  
 Pin'arus.  
 Pin'darus.  
 Pirith'oüs.  
 Pisis'tratus.  
 Pissuth'nes.  
 Pit'ane.  
 Pit'tacus.  
 Pixodo'rus.  
 Plemmyr'ium.  
 Plisti'nus.  
 Plisto'anax.  
 Ploti'nus.  
 Pœ'cile.  
 Pol'emarch.  
 Pol'emom.  
 Poliorce'tes.  
 Pol'lichus.  
 Pol'lio.  
 Polyæ'nus.  
 Polyal'ces.  
 Polyb'ius.  
 Polycle'tus.  
 Polycli'tus.  
 Polyc'rates.  
 Polycrat'idas.  
 Polyc'rite.  
 Polyc'ritus.  
 Polyd'amas.  
 Polydec'tes.  
 Polydo'rus.  
 Polyeuc'tus.  
 Polygno'tus.  
 Polyi'dus. (?)  
 Polym'achus.  
 Polyme'des.  
 Polyni'ces.  
 Pol'yphron.  
 Polys'tratus.  
 Polyx'enus.  
 Polyze'lus.  
 Pomaxath' res.

Pon'ticus.  
 Pontif'ices.  
 Poplic'ola.  
 Posi'deon.  
 Posido'nus.  
 Pos'tuma.  
 Pos'tumus.  
 Pot'amon.  
 Pot'amus.  
 Pothi'nus.  
 Poti'tus.  
 Pran'ichus.  
 Praxag'oras.  
 Praxier'gidæ.  
 Pria'pus.  
 Pri'ene.  
 Proconne'sus.  
 Procul'e'ius.  
 Proc'ulus.  
 Prod'icus.  
 Prol'yta.  
 Prom'achus.  
 Proma'thion.  
 Prome'theus.  
 Proser'pina.  
 Protag'oras.  
 Pro'teās.  
 Proth'ous.  
 Proth'ytes.  
 Protog'enes.  
 Prox'enus.  
 Pru'sias.  
 Prytane'um.  
 Pryt'ann.  
 Pseno'phis.  
 Pseudom'enos.  
 Psiltu'cis.  
 Psy'che.  
 Psyttale'a.  
 Ptoeodo'rus.  
 Ptolema'is.  
 Public'ola.  
 Pute'oli.  
 Pyanep'sion.  
 Pyl'ades.

Pyl'ius.  
 Pyra'mia.  
 Pyr'rhidæ.  
 Pythag'oras.  
 Pyth'eas.  
 Pyth'ocles.  
 Pythocli'des.  
 Pythodo'rus.  
 Pythola'üs.  
 Pythoni'ce.  
 Pythop'olis.  
 Quadran'tia.  
 Quinti'lis.  
 Quiri'nal.  
 Quiri'nus.  
 Quiri'tes.

Ratu'mena.  
 Rhe'a.  
 Rhe'gium.  
 Rhene'a.  
 Rhodogu'ne.  
 Rhœ'saces.  
 Rhœte'um.  
 Rhyn'dacus.  
 Roma'nus.  
 Rom'ulus.  
 Roxa'na.  
 Roxa'nes.  
 Ru'bicon.  
 Rufi'nus.  
 Rumina'lis.

Sab'aco.  
 Sabi'nus.  
 Saccu'lio.  
 Sad'alas. (?)  
 Sa'is.  
 Sal'amis.  
 Salina'tor.  
 Sali'næ.  
 Sambu'ca.  
 Samos'ata.  
 Sandau'ce.

Sarpe'don.  
 Satibarza'nes.  
 Sat'ricum.  
 Saturni'nus.  
 Sat'yrus.  
 Scæv'ola.  
 Scambon'idæ.  
 Scand'e'a.  
 Scap'-te-Hy'le.  
 Scar'phia or Scarphe'a.  
 Sced'asus.  
 Schinoceph'alus.  
 Sci'athus.  
 Scira'dium.  
 Sciraph'idæ.  
 Scirophor'ion.  
 Scyt'ale.  
 Seleu'cia or Seleuce'a.  
 Seli'nus.  
 Sem'ele.  
 Sene'cio.  
 Senectu'te.  
 Seno'nes.  
 Seq'uanî.  
 Sera'pion.  
 Sera'pis.  
 Seri'phus.  
 Sexti'lis.  
 Sic'yon.  
 Sila'nus.  
 Sile'nus.  
 Sil'laces.  
 Simon'ides.  
 Sim'yus.  
 Sin'naca.  
 Sino'pe.  
 Sino'ra.  
 Sisachthe'a.  
 Sisimith'res.  
 Sisma'tias.  
 So'chares.  
 Soc'rates.  
 Sol'oön.  
 So'phanes.  
 Sophe'ne.

Soph'ocles.  
 Sophros'yne.  
 Sora'nus.  
 Sosib'ius.  
 Sos'icles.  
 Sosig'enes.  
 Sosis'tratus.  
 So'tion.  
 So'üs.  
 Sparami'zes.  
 Spar'tacus.  
 Sperchi'us.  
 Sphacte'ria.  
 Sphi'nes.  
 Sphod'rias.  
 Sphragit'ides.  
 Spic'ulus.  
 Spithrida'tes.  
 Stagi'ra or Stagi'rus.  
 Staph'ylus.  
 Stasic'rates.  
 Statia'nus.  
 Stati'ra.  
 Steph'anus.  
 Stesila'us.  
 Stesim'brotus.  
 Sthen'elus.  
 Stil'bides.  
 Stir'ia.  
 Strate'gus.  
 Strat'ocles.  
 Stratoni'ce.  
 Stratoni'cus.  
 Su'nium.  
 Sure'na.  
 Susamith'res.  
 Syb'aris.  
 Sym'bolum.  
 Syn'alus.  
  
 Tac'ita.  
 Tæn'arus.  
 Tala'sius.  
 Tam'ynæ.  
 Tan'agra.

Tan'aïs.  
 Taphosi'ris.  
 Tarconde'mus.  
 Tarraci'na.  
 Tau'reäs.  
 Tau'rion.  
 Taurome'nium.  
 Tax'iles.  
 Tayg'etus.  
 Tectos'ages.  
 Teg'ea.  
 Tegea'tans.  
 Teg'yræ.  
 Tel'amon.  
 Telecli'des.  
 Telem'achus.  
 Tel'ephus.  
 Teles'ides.  
 Telesi'nus.  
 Teleu'tias.  
 Temeni'tid.  
 Ten'edos.  
 Tenteri'tæ.  
 Ter'merus.  
 Ter'minus.  
 Terraci'na.  
 Tetrap'olis.  
 Teu'tamis.  
 Teu'tones.  
 Tha'is.  
 Thal'amæ.  
 Thap'sacus.  
 Tharge'lion.  
 Thar'rhypas.  
 Theag'enes.  
 Theän'gela.  
 Theä'no.  
 Theär'idas.  
 Theär'ides.  
 Themiscy'ra.  
 Themis'tocles.  
 Theoc'ritus.  
 Theodo'rus.  
 Theod'otes.  
 Theod'otus.

Theogi'ton.  
 Theoph'anes.  
 Theoph'ilus.  
 Theo'ris.  
 Theo'rus.  
 Theram'enes.  
 Thermo'don.  
 Thermop'ylæ.  
 Theryc'ion.  
 Thesmoth'etæ.  
 Thes'piæ.  
 Thessaloni'ca.  
 Thes'salus.  
 Thetid'ium.  
 Thetide'um.  
 Tho'äs.  
 Thra'sea.  
 Thrasybu'lus.  
 Thras'ymene.  
 Thucyd'ides.  
 Thu'rij.  
 Thyati'ra.  
 Thymœt'adæ.  
 Thyr'ea.  
 Thyrea'tis.  
 Tigelli'nus.  
 Tigra'nes.  
 Tiguri'ni.  
 Tilphos'sium.  
 Timag'enes.  
 Timag'oras.  
 Timesil'eüs.  
 Timesith'eüs.  
 Timocle'a.  
 Timocli'des.  
 Timoc'rates.  
 Timoc'reon.  
 Timode'mus.  
 Timola'üs.  
 Timo'leon.  
 Timoleonte'üm.  
 Timone'um.  
 Timon'ides.  
 Timoph'anes.  
 Timo'theus.

Timox'enus.	Tyran'nion.	Vet'erem.
Tisam'enus.		Veridoma'rus.
Ti'sias.	Uli'ades.	
Tisiph'onus.	U'sipes.	Xanthip'pides.
Tith'ora.	Usip'etes.	Xenag'oras.
Titu'rius.	U'tica.	Xena'res.
Tit'yüs.		Xen'ocles.
Tole'ria.	Vagi'ses.	Xenoc'rates.
Tol'mides.	Vargunti'nus.	Xenod'ochus.
Tor'yne.	Vari'nus.	Xenoph'ilus.
Tra'gia.	Vela'brum.	Xen'ophon
Trape'zus.	Velatu'ra.	Xyp'ete.
Tre'bia.	Vel'esus.	
Trip'ylus.	Ve'lia.	Zare'tra.
Tro'äs.	Vel'itræ.	Zenodo'tia.
Tro'ädes.	Vellu'tus.	Zenod'otus.
Tu'bero.	Venu'sia.	Zeugi'tæ.
Tudita'nus.	Vera'nia.	Zeuxida'mi.
Tus'culum.	Vercinget'orix.	Zo'ilus.
Tu'tula.	Vergen'torix.	Zo'pyrus.
Tyn'darus.	Verruco'sus.	Zos'ime.

















